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ABSTRACT

The objectives of this research conducted between 1966 and 1968 were to analyze: 1) the role of education within the new Polish political system and the political culture; 2) the existing school organization, including the various reforms; 3) the process of teacher education and the role as well as place of teachers in the new political and socio-economic structure; and, 4) to determine the relative effectiveness of the educational enterprise and the teacher in meeting the definite expectations and goals of the political system; and, 5) to identify some of the factors which affect the process of value socialization, especially as this process concerns the educational enterprise and the teachers as socializers. The methods involved: 1) analysis of available literature; 2) interviews with educators and secondary school students; 3) school visitations; 4) analysis of student examinations; 5) attendance at conferences; and, 6) analysis of questionnaires administered to 416 education students and 276 secondary school teachers in five districts. It was found that both the educational system and the teachers were caught between conflicting pulls of values and norms with teachers not quite trained to meet systemic expectations, and the political system itself placing lower allocation priorities on education than on ventures with immediate and visible payoff quality. The major influencing factors in the socialization of teachers were: teacher age, prestige of educational background, commitment to general education, tenure, community, and social class. (Author/SBE)

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FINAL REPORT
Project No. S-417
Contract No. OE-6-10-151

TEACHERS IN POLAND AS TRANSMITTERS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL VALUES

October, 1969

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
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UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

INSTITUTE FOR COMPARATIVE
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October 14, 1969

Mr. Morton W. Bachrach
Copyright Program Officer
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Office of Education
Washington, D.C. 20202

Re: Contract: OE-6-10-151
Project: S-417
Bureau Number: 5-8409

Dear Mr. Bachrach:

The Final Report written in fulfillment of the above contract turned out to be much more extensive and ambitious in scope than was originally contemplated. Moreover, due to circumstances not of the author's making -- e.g., conditions prevailing in the field, delays in getting out data, delays in transferring funds and instructions from the United States to the field (i.e., Poland), but, most importantly, due to extended field trips and work at the Investigator's own expense -- the final product encompasses much more than narrow findings on teachers' training and socialization. It is, rather, an account as to how the whole educational process relates to the totality of the Polish sociopolitical, economic, and cultural system. One could not really treat education and teachers in isolation from this totality.

Consequently, it is my conviction that the material contained therein also would be of interest to persons in fields other than education who may, in the process of routine dissemination, not be aware even of its existence. I have already received interested inquiries as to the progress of the research from persons in the United States and abroad, academic and nonacademic, of diverse intellectual disciplines (e.g., area study, sociology, political science, economics, etc.).

I am therefore requesting your ruling on my ability to publish the manuscript in book form, and I have several seriously interested publishers who are considering such publication (and a contract offer from one). I wish to stress again that a great deal of personal funds went into the project which extended beyond the period originally contemplated. I would also emphasize that the document in question, not being in the character of a textbook, would certainly not bring me any material rewards -- which I do not expect nor is this a factor underlying my request. I simply seek wider dissemination than would normally be available through the existing channels (of ERIC, etc.), as well as, frankly, personal "visibility" and academic recognition for a great amount of work and effort put into an area in which relatively little objective research has been undertaken.

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Sincerely,

Joseph R. Fiszman, Ph.D.
Associate Professor, Political Science
Acting Director, Institute for Comparative Experimental Research on Behavioral Systems, University of Oregon

P.S. We are sending this letter ahead of the report to prepare you. The report is now being run off and collated and will be sent off in a few days. A copy of this letter will accompany the required number of copies which are being submitted to the Office of Education.

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Final Report

Project No. S-417
Contract No. OE-6-10-151

Teachers in Poland as Transmitters of Socio-Political Values

Joseph R. Fiszman

University of Oregon

Eugene, Oregon

October, 1969

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

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ERIC REPORT RESUME

SUMMARY

TEACHERS IN POLAND AS TRANSMITTERS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL VALUES

Investigator: Joseph R. Fiszman

Institution: University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon 97403

Project Number: S-417

Duration: January 1, 1966 - March 31, 1967, as amended, July 30, 1969

BACKGROUND

Polish society is presently undergoing a period of transition as a result of urbanization, industrialization, and socio-political revolution. The changes have been brought about, in part, as a consequence of geographically shifting boundaries and political circumstances prevailing in the area in the aftermath of World War II, and, in part, as a result of general global trends. However, these changes have imposed upon Polish society new sets of values and goals -- values and goals which frequently conflict with well-established traditional values and traditional styles of behavior. The conflict is aggravated by the historical circumstances which caused socialism to be introduced as the official ideology at a time when relatively minor groups within society were internally prepared -- on the basis of previous experiences -- to internalize the values and demands of the new political order or the values and demands borne of a new industry-oriented culture.

Given such conditions those in charge of the political system faced two alternatives: either to force social compliance by relying upon strictly applied administrative measures, or to compromise with existing circumstances while, at the same time, attempting to socialize the population, especially the younger generations, into the values, norms and styles of the new system in order to facilitate the achievement of the system's stated goals. Since October, 1956, sensitivity to reality necessitated coexistence and compromise with the persisting residues of the old order with periodic returns to harsher measures. However, in this process of socialization the schools are perceived as being the system's most advanced outposts. In terms of value propagation and the achievement of its economic goals, paramount functional importance is attached by the system to the process of education. In long-range terms the very security of the system hinges upon future generations of thoroughly socialized citizens, on their ability to meet the skill requirements of a rapidly developing industry and technology-oriented economy, and, thus, on the ability of the educational enterprise to bring about the desired state of affairs. In the process teachers play a crucial functional role as de-facto agents of the systems and transmitters of officially sanctioned values and norms, and very definite expectations are attached to the teaching profession. However, as indicated, the process of socialization and the process of popular assimilation into new value and style patterns often conflict with established traditional norms and beliefs, including traditional attitudes toward work and leisure. The institutions promoting the values and goals of the new order further compete with the formal and informal but still influential institutions of the traditional culture, primarily those of the family and the Church. Although those in charge of the system, in an effort toward adjustment to the pressures of reality, attempt to rationalize that religion is not an ideology per se, that religious beliefs do not necessarily conflict with commitment to a socialist ideology, the dominant political Party is brought into conflict with the Catholic Church since both these institutions see themselves as the rightful claimants to the role of spokesman for the nation. For long periods in history -- in times of the country's partition by neighboring powers -- the Church has held virtual monopoly on the role of national spokesman and guardian of national values which were seen as synonymous to those of the Church. The problem of secularism and separation of State and Church assumes, therefore, aggravated dimensions and is basically different in character from the way similar problems are considered in a socio-political system where the question of separation is in large measure a question of avoidance of particular denominational favoritism. In this conflict between the Party and the State, on the one hand, and the Church, on the other, the schools are seen as agencies of the secular-political order, and the teachers are seen -- especially in the rural areas -- as challengers to the established authority of the priests. Yet teachers themselves are not immune to the traditional cultural values and norms, and the schools themselves are built upon the presystemic educational structure and organization. The question, consequently, is: How socialized are the socializers and how well equipped are they to meet the expectations of the present political system?

OBJECTIVES

1. To analyze the role of education within the Polish political system and the political culture;
2. To analyze the existing school organization, including the various reforms this organization has undergone;
3. To analyze the process of teachers' education and the role as well as place of teachers in the political and socio-economic structure;

4. To determine the relative effectiveness of the educational enterprise and the teachers -- in view of their place in the structure, their training, and the values held by the teachers -- in meeting systemic expectations and goals;
5. Identification of some of the factors which impinge upon or, conversely, foster the process of value socialization, especially as this process concerns the educational enterprise and the teachers as "socializers."

PROCEDURE

Field work on this Project began late in 1965 when the Investigator was in East Europe in connection with another but related research activity, and continued through the year 1966 and through various periods of time in 1967 and 1968. Some of the data included in the Report were obtained from the field as late as the end of summer, 1969. The research involved the following:

1. Analysis of available literature (e.g., books, monographs, laws, statutes, directives and orders, press releases, news items and articles appearing in the daily Polish press as well as periodicals of general and specialized character);
2. In-depth (and informal) interviews conducted with teachers, school officials, and others concerned with problems of education;
3. Focus-type interview sessions conducted with groups of secondary school students;
4. Visitations to secondary schools of various types (i.e., general education and vocational);

5. Analysis of examination questions as well as responses to these questions from five different school districts, administered at secondary school graduation (1966) in conjunction with granting Certificates of Maturity (Matura);
6. Attendance-observation of several regional education and teachers' conferences called by the school authorities as well as by the Polish Teachers' Union;
7. Analysis of structured questionnaire administered among 416 students and student-teachers enrolled in Teachers' Training Schools (Studium Nauczycielskie) in five different school districts (this questionnaire was formally developed and administered by a research team from the Commission for Industrializing Regions of the Polish Academy of Sciences; the Investigator contributed to the questionnaire development although the research was undertaken by the team for their own "internal" reasons);
8. Analysis of structured questionnaire administered to a sample of 276 secondary Polish school teachers drawn from the Teachers' Union rosters in five different school districts (questionnaire items developed by the Investigator were incorporated in an instrument used by a Polish research team, sponsored by the Teachers' Union, for its own use).

The questions administered to the students as well as the teachers dealt primarily with attitudes towards socialism, religion, and technologically induced cultural modernity. Respondents were asked to react to statements drawn from socialist and religious morality literature on such matters as family structure, sex behavior, and sex education, as well as on matters of vocational versus traditional education.

The development of a wholly independent instrument was impossible due to the cumbersome procedure involving prior clearance of both the U.S. and Polish agencies involved. The year 1966 was a particularly difficult year to conduct field research in Poland on problems of education. This was the year of the Millenium of Polish statehood and Christian nationhood, compounded by difficulties in the foreign policy area. The latter inflicted particular difficulties on an American researcher in the field while the former brought the Church into severe conflict with the Party and State organs, making questions dealing with education, and especially with the secular-religious value dichotomy, of particular sensitivity. The difficulties of 1966 were followed by difficulties of somewhat different character in 1968. As a result of these circumstances some aspects of the originally planned research strategy had to undergo modification. Informal and formal cooperation with Polish colleagues not only became necessary but became the only way in which the Project could have been brought to completion.

RESULTS

1. Although the number of students of workingclass and peasant-farmer origins continuing their education past the elementary school level has increased as compared with the prewar period, the bulk of the student body at the prestigious secondary schools of general education -- and, consequently, in institutions of higher education -- continues to consist of youth of intelligentsia background. Similarly, as far as institutions designed for teachers' training are concerned, the representation of traditionally "lower" socio-economic classes increases as one moves down on the scale of prestige and level of the educational facility.

2. Although officially youth of workingclass or peasant-farmer background are favored and students of these backgrounds enjoy certain priorities with respect to stipends, assistantships, etc., the existing organization of the educational system operates against their continued education, especially in the case of rural youth.

3. In his career pattern, the individual can hardly escape the repercussions following his initial career choice made by him or for him at certain crucial nodal points of his elementary school education (i.e., at the completion of grades six, seven, and eight).

4. Although the instructor at institutions of teachers' training has a great deal of personal discretion in presenting his subject matter, he is also restricted by the demands of a preset curriculum outline and required readings and by the possibility that his statements during a lecture may be reported and held against him.

5. Student behavior generally is expected to be in conformity with accepted community standards. These expectations are especially pronounced with respect to students training for the teaching profession.

6. As a result of his teachers' education, the graduate-teacher is expected to be able to deal with students, to transmit to them subject matter knowledge, to inculcate in them the values of a technological culture, and always to be the conscious "bearer of socialist ideas."

7. Generally, popular esteem is related to the length of time required to train for a particular occupation and to the still persisting traditional prestige models. The teacher's esteem in Poland while generally rated high is not matched by corresponding income.

8. There is a hierarchical structure with respect to pay within the total educational organization, with those employed in the field of

higher education constituting an elite. The latter also enjoy the highest prestige within the educational hierarchy thus, as far as the educational structure is concerned, making the income scale correspond to the prestige scale.

9. While it is a superstructure of the socio-political and economic order, the school system develops its own set of interests and values.

10. The teacher is torn between conflicting role expectations; yet his failure to meet fully any of these roles may be used against him.

11. In varying degrees the traditional principles related to sex and family morality have lost their impact among the young. At the same time, however, traditional Catholic moral principles continue to hold considerable sway among those preparing themselves for the teaching profession on the elementary school level. Significantly, younger respondents were more prone to accept the traditional values than the older students and student teachers affiliated with the Teachers' Training Schools of the SN type.

12. Female student-teachers accept the traditional patriarchal structure of the Polish family to a greater extent than men who would benefit more from continuation of traditional patterns. Generally, responses to statements dealing with questions of sex and family morality indicate coexistence of values and patterns rooted in tradition with values and patterns resulting from technologically induced modernity. The former values and patterns uphold the superior social and economic position of the male while the latter express themselves in a liberalized attitude towards sex behavior and the sanctity of the family and marriage. The patterns of responses to these statements do not suggest that the new socialist-secular moral code (at least where sex and the family are concerned) have taken root. Generally, the youngest respondents, though born and educated under the new

system, seem to accept the older values and look up to the older, traditional institutions in greater measure than their seniors.

13. Rather than see members of their profession burdened with the task of sex education, the student-teachers in the sample would delegate that task first to parents and, second, to medical doctors. The older the student-teacher the less confidence he has in those of his chosen profession to do an adequate job of sex education, or the less he wants to assume the responsibility, or both.

14. Whatever leadership function the teacher fulfills within the community is of an ex-officio character. The ruling authority, especially in small provincial towns, usually rests with local people, regardless of formal education, who have risen to the top due to their organizational abilities and activism.

15. While socio-political and civic activism is expected from the teacher and he is often forced into the activist role by small community pressures, he and the schools become the recipients and targets of the community's discontent generated by the nature of the teacher's activism.

16. Many Polish teachers feel discriminated against or slighted in terms both of prestige and of income and apparently see a relationship between the two. Their low income level keeps them socially apart from other intelligentsia members within a small community. That is, although in terms of general public perception the status of the teacher may be high, he himself perceives his prestige to be rather low and this low self-esteem seems to be directly related to his economic status.

17. The socio-political and civic activities into which the Polish teacher is drawn, coupled with his need to seek additional income (in the case of those with families), seems to affect the quality of what he feels to be his primary occupational obligation.

18. The gap between teachers' income and prestige is the highest among all occupations, regardless of whether intelligentsia or not, whether within the private or public sector of the economy.

19. The present Polish prestige pattern indicates that Polish society, as it was in the past, is highly structured and class conscious with nonintelligentsia, traditionally nongentry classes and groups rating lower on the prestige scale than occupations still associated with intelligentsia and gentry background.

20. The relatively low prestige -- beneath their income standing -- accorded occupations related to government (e.g., cabinet minister, army officer, policeman) indicates a gap between the political system and the larger community and its socio-political culture.

21. The teacher's status and standing in the community is not only a function of his knowledge vis-a-vis the community but also of the popularity of the political system of which the teacher is viewed as a socialization agent.

22. The subject of "character education" (including that of political and moral value education) lacks clear definition and crystalization, with the frequent result that educators in the field continue to promote the traditional educational role of the school system to the neglect of its political function. Such neglect is further abetted by school inspectors who pay, during visitations, greater attention to subject matter classes than to activities related to "character building." By choice or circumstance the institution of Polish education (of either level) has not encouraged the development of the profession of educational administration. At the same time, however, high administrative posts are assigned on the basis of political considerations rather than on the basis of professional competence.

23. Party connections are important for personal advancement but these are not the only connections useful to the individual. Given the traditional social structure and the persistence of traditional values within the community, even Church and parish connections can be useful, despite the official position of inferiority accorded the Church.

24. The teacher's political cynicism may undergo a decrease with tenure in the profession along with a simultaneous increase in political conservatism in the sense of adaptation to the official systemic ethos. The Polish teacher thus reaches the system through membership in the profession and, consequently, the older teacher although physically brought up in a presocialist environment may be less alienated from the present Polish system than the younger teacher who is himself a product of "socialist education." That is, membership in the teaching profession itself serves as a factor of socialization into the existing political system.

25. Most teachers in Poland were educated or at least received the bulk of their professional training under the present socio-political system.

26. The generally lower esteem level of institutions of teachers' training is reflected in the social class backgrounds of the teachers. In the teachers' sample persons of workingclass background constitute the largest group (40.5 percent), followed by teachers of peasant background (32.8 percent) and only then by intelligentsia (19.4 percent).

27. Although many teachers have indicated that their professional choice was a matter of accident, once established in the profession they manifest a high level of satisfaction with that choice -- 51.9 percent declared themselves as being "very satisfied." Most of the attrition takes place during the first years in the profession.

28. The higher the level and the prestige of the teachers' own education the more he tends to be dissatisfied with the accomplishments of his pedagogic-educational labors.

29. The humanities curriculum has been more radically affected -- in terms of substance, teaching methods, and outlook -- by the socio-political and economic revolution than has the physical science curriculum, the teaching of mathematics, or even vocational education.

30. Generally, those in the humanities and social sciences are more sensitive to social pressures and to political change than the practitioners of the physical sciences.

31. Teachers who perceive themselves primarily as subject-matter specialists rate their own ties with the Church stronger than do those who consider themselves primarily educators or both educators and subject-matter specialists although neither group of teachers produced a majority which would rate its ties with the Church as "very strong" or even "strong." Nevertheless, even among the socio-politically sensitive "primarily educators" group (consisting in the main of humanities' teachers) a total of 72.2 percent admitted to some ties to the Church.

32. Generally, teachers in Poland endorse the principle of secularization of the school system but, at the same time, are somewhat apprehensive about the effects of rapid or radical secularization of the larger socio-political system. Even among the "primarily educators" only 65.4 percent endorsed the idea that the Church should be limited only to matters of spiritual faith, to the exclusion of political concerns.

33. Tendencies towards secularization seem to increase moderately with age rather than the reverse. The younger the teachers the stronger their religious or pro-Church sentiments although only a minority within each age group does not indicate any ties whatever with the Church.

34. The ties among young teachers to the Church are not only strongest but also the most void (as stated) of reasons which would indicate conformity to environmental pressures. This might be indicative of the negative effects of their own state of socialization into the values and premises of the political system which educated them.

35. Proreligious sentiments do not decrease in terms of total relationships to the Church with the increase of the size of the teacher's community and the level of urbanization. However, intensity of Church attachment is less among Church-oriented teachers in larger localities than in medium-sized towns.

36. Teachers of workingclass background come closest to meeting the system's expectations with regard to Church attitude although even among workingclass teachers a majority (57.2 percent) indicated some ties with the Church.

37. The teacher most amenable to assimilating the system's official attitude towards the Church is likely to be of middle age or above, male, one who considers his role as primarily that of educator, is trained in the humanities or social sciences, is of workingclass background and has spent most of his childhood and youth in a medium-sized community.

38. The teacher most resistant to the system's expectations regarding teachers' behavior towards the Church most likely would be young, female, one who considers herself primarily a subject-matter specialist, is usually trained to teach mathematics or the physical sciences, is of peasant or traditional middleclass (e.g., private entrepreneureal) background and has spent her childhood and youth in a village or small community.

39. Although teachers of workingclass background claimed the weakest ties to the Church, it is this class alone which produced an element

of believers whose Church attendance (e.g., Sunday Mass, other services, confession and communion) is most frequent -- much more so than the teachers of peasant-farmer background.

40. Youngest teachers (age 25 or less) show the least interest in political or social activism.

41. The bulk of secondary school teachers in Poland is by choice aloof from organizational membership and voluntary activism of any kind. Yet, whether members or not, they become ex-officio involved in political and social activism which is either Party related or Party directed.

42. While, overall, Polish secondary school teachers seem to meet the "cultural" and professional interest expectations of the system rather well, significant differences emerge between various age groups. The younger teachers, for example, fare less well than their elders in meeting these systemic expectations.

43. Although teachers rated their own citizen role as extremely low in importance, they nevertheless believe that the primary goals of education should be development of good citizenship, of a sense of social responsibility, of a well-rounded personality capable of contributing to the social and economic welfare of society.

44. Teachers in the sample manifest a general satisfaction, however small, with what they perceive the goals of the present educational system to be. Yet, at the same time, a large number (41.1 percent) think that the present goals -- as they perceive them -- differ from the ideal they have in mind.

45. In many provincial and rural localities a modus-vivendi between the secular-political authorities and the religious authorities has been reached, but where this is so it is the secular authority which has given way, it appears, and retreated before the religious authority rather

than the reverse.

46. Teachers who identify themselves merely as educators, while ready to accept the broad socially related goals of the system, pause when it comes to accepting the values of a technical-industrial culture, especially as it impinges on their own immediate environment and work. On the other hand, the subject-matter specialists (to a large extent physicists, chemists, and mathematicians) who were skeptical about the system's anti-religious stance were very willing to adjust themselves to the demands brought by changing technology. Nevertheless, some among them had reservations about complete acceptance of the polytechnic goals of education -- greater reservations, in fact, than their colleagues who saw themselves as both "educators" and "subject-matter specialists."

47. Older teachers appear to suspect that the technological-scientific revolution will be more thorough in its social effects than the political changes have managed to be, and, consequently, would threaten their own status positions which will have to give way to scientists and technologues.

48. On the whole, tenure in the profession affects a teacher's readiness to accept systemic demands, especially where the teacher does not personally or professionally feel threatened and where the system is unequivocally clear in its signals.

49. The reaction of the oldest teachers (50 years of age and above) and the youngest teachers (25 years of age or less) to questions of technological-scientific change is similar in nature and borne from the same reservations, rooted, it seems, in similar feelings of fear and inadequacy.

50. While still restricted, secondary education as a whole has lost the elitist and distinct class character it had under the preceding system,

but at the same time the changing conditions have brought crowded classrooms and a lowering in the quality of education.

51. Despite exhortations to the youth to become trade-oriented, to think in terms of future employment possibilities and incentives, and to try to adjust their training to the needs of the economy, and despite the fact that vocational education facilities have undergone expansion, the increase in the vocational school population is relatively lower than in schools of general education -- indicating once more that plans and designs of the political system when meeting head-on with ingrained cultural and community values and norms ultimately give way to the latter.

52. Rather than urbanization as such it is industrialization which seems to give an immediate and direct impetus to educational zeal. However, alongside the lure of industrial employment is the pull of tradition, traditional values and prestige models and, consequently, of traditional educational orientations.

53. Despite realization of the long-range benefits inherent in education, short-range projects promising immediate profit find it easier to generate community support, and even within the educational structure, the aspects of education most intimately related to tangible economic utility receive greater support priorities than educational projects whose relationship to the marketplace is less apparent at first glance.

54. In the process of obtaining an education and utilizing the educational opportunities available, the rural areas and economically poor provincial districts are left behind much because a great deal of the responsibility for providing educational facilities is left to local initiative and resources, which are simply not equal to the task either in terms of the local economy or because of a lack of an appropriate cultural and educational tradition.

55. The answers given to the Matura examinations (in 1966) reveal that students (a) generally prefer to stick to subjects covered in texts or previously handled in class and to treat the question in standard fashion; (b) prefer specific questions to questions of general-theoretical and speculative character; (c) avoid the choice of themes which would involve them in ideological discussion or the necessity to express an individual position; (d) avoid passing judgment and skirt questions asking for personal opinions; (e) avoid themes which would reflect individual initiative in the selection of reading matter.

56. Many educators recognize the need for substantive curriculum revisions, realize that from the point of view of the system such revisions must be made but, at the same time, it seems the system itself inhibits attempts toward change, innovation, and experimentation.

57. The gap between educational plans and their realization is, in part, due to a strict division of labor which separates the planner from the program's executor, that is, the working classroom teacher.

58. The continuous flow of ideological strictures, of patriotic speeches, narratives of war, suffering and heroism, appears to turn counterproductive in its effects on the audience for whom designed, the youth.

59. If in the course of their formal educational experience young people have not really internalized the values that the system seeks to implant -- and they often were not even given the opportunity either through the fault of the teachers or of the school to really become exposed to these values -- the post-Matura experience of some further serves to prevent their involvement in the system's goals, values, or even identification with it.

60. In many instances the existing educational enterprise is not equipped in terms of the physical facilities available, in terms of personnel or educational tradition, to meet all the socio-economic and political expectations attached to it, the goals placed before it, especially at the speed desired for realization of all these goals and expectations.

61. Teachers are left without concrete guidelines as to how to proceed with their character molding tasks, and, moreover, they themselves are not always and not fully socialized into the values and norms of the "ideal" socialist personality and character type. Subsequently the tendency is to follow routine, instructions from above, as well as educational tradition.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

1. Polish society is in a state of transition, of value-change, style-change, with many areas in which new norms and patterns battle with old established traditions, or, conversely, areas in which the traditional and the modern -- borne of technological change, of political change, or of both -- coexist.

2. The educational structure is highly differentiated, with lines of demarcation between various levels and types of education, with obstacles erected at crucial points of the individual's educational development -- and the net result is a perpetuation of many of the old divisions along traditional lines of class, status, and prestige.

3. When socialism became -- as a result of World War II and the postwar conditions in East Europe -- the official creed, society lacked the type of personality which, brought up under conditions of a prewar socialist subculture, would be prepared and ready to step in and take charge of the newly established system now officially endorsing the socialist

ideology and socialist values.

4. Since both the Party and the Church claim the mandate of representing and speaking for the nation, and both approach reality from diverse philosophical perspectives, frictions between the two are frequent. Yet, the system is compelled to solicit the assistance of experts, including educators, whose ties with the Church are strong for a variety of reasons. In a test of loyalties, in a situation of conflict involving the competing political claims of the state and the Church, it is questionable whether such a person would subordinate himself without reservations to the dictates of the former rather than the latter.

5. Despite the importance attached to education and the long-range hopes pinned on the institution of education, education per se in terms of resource allocation remains a relatively low priority item to the central planners who are faced with the compelling need for the achievement of short-range social and economic objectives.

6. Despite pronouncement to the contrary, there exists within the total society a pattern of income and consumption stratification related to the economy and a prestige hierarchy related to traditional cultural norms but also (within the public economic sector) with corresponding (and thus officially sanctioned) pay scale rewards.

7. Drawn into a variety of civic activities -- frequently against his own inclination -- the teacher, especially on the village and small-town level, becomes thoroughly identified in the public perception with the system and is seen as that system's ex-officio agent. Consequently, he becomes the target for all kinds of grievances against the system -- grievances generated by problems wholly unrelated to education.

8. Much of the teacher's prestige was a function of his knowledge vis-a-vis the community's ignorance. As levels of ignorance decrease within the community -- as a result of increased universalization of at least a minimum of education, as a result of the increasing popularity of the mass media -- the teacher loses hold over monopoly on knowledge within the community and stands to lose his social standing as a result.

9. As in society-at-large so within the educational enterprise, too, traditional practices and styles die hard. The very institution of examinations serves as a barrier erected on the road towards upward movement, and, for some, this barrier is often insurmountable.

10. The youngest of the teachers, those 25 years of age or younger, seem to belong to a youth type of culture which expresses itself, on the one hand, in open or tacit support for religion and the Church since they see these as challenges to systemic reality but which, on the other hand, is not really deeply committed to the moral and ethical principles of religion nor to the stated ideals of the system nor even to the philosophical and moral underpinnings of a scientific-technological civilization.

11. Advancing age, lower educational background, and, primarily, tenure within the profession are factors inducing in teachers feelings of occupational satisfaction and conformity to the system's expectations with regard to the profession, including acceptance of the system's educational goals and objectives.

12. It would appear that the classes and groups -- at least as far as teachers are concerned -- upon whom the system could pin most of its hopes are among the most disappointing from the system's point of view, that is, the young who were fully educated under the new system, those of peasant background, and the religiously oriented among those of workingclass background.

13. If the youngest among the teachers should in any way be indicative of the future of Polish society-at-large this future is very uncertain: religious but not very orthodox, exposed to socialism but not really socialist, exposed to technology and scientificism without assimilating a scientific frame of mind, they have nevertheless absorbed some value aspects of all these phenomena, however superficially. As the young teachers become older and gain tenure in the profession, they will become more accommodative and "stabilized" but then the "stabilization" may very well take the form of crystalization and perpetuation of their present outlook which has the ingredients of traditionalism, political and technological "modernity" but is, in fact, neither.

14. Of all the professions, teaching and particularly lower level teaching (especially in the provinces), seems to be the most vulnerable to various pressures and pulls.

15. For its own sake, in order to attain its stated goals -- provided that those in charge of the system are earnest about their aims -- curriculum changes in nearly all disciplines are obviously needed. The system itself, however, the way it is structured, inhibits change. The principle of "supremacy of politics" makes change necessary but by instilling mistrust of the expert, it delegates responsibility for approval of change to the Party and responsibility for execution to the expert who, in turn, has misgivings about the politician. This is an important explanation as to why, despite talk of change, things are being done very much in the traditional manner and traditionalism is most evident within the educational enterprise.

16. As long as the present conditions of dichotomization and partial socialization exist, the changes undertaken in education would continu

to be in the area of technical innovation and in administrative arrangement but would not cut deep into the socio-cultural fabric.

17. Twenty years after the establishment of the new system, educational opportunities are far from being equalized and the existing social structure is still very much similar to the patterns of stratification which existed prior to the new system -- very much because the opportunities for education are weighted in favor of the classes and groups of traditional privilege. The problem is compounded by the continuation of traditional educational prestige models which emphasize humanities rather than vocational training.

18. At the root of much of the problem is the system's unwillingness or inability to place adequate resources into the organization of education. The conditions within the educational system itself reflect the priority hierarchy existing within the system -- a priority hierarchy which is not necessarily reflected in formal programmatic statements but which results from conflicting desires and interest pulls. If the system were indeed as intent on the achievement of socialism as it claims to be, or if it were to place upon that goal as much stress as it does on industrialization, it would invest in lower educational levels at least as much as it does in higher professional training institutions. Similarly, investments in institutions of teachers' training lag behind investments in technically oriented training centers or in the universities.

19. The resources, however scarce, the country, however poor, once essential rebuilding from the devastation of war and occupation was completed, a greater effort in the area of education could have been afforded some time ago. However, there were other investment areas -- besides industry and technology -- which received higher priority than education or

from which resources could have been diverted to educational purposes without affecting the country's wellbeing, security, or prestige.

20. There is need to eliminate the status barriers between the universities and the lower levels of education, between those in general education and those in vocational education.

21. The socialization efforts to which younger teachers were exposed in the course of their own education turned out to be, in the final analysis, counterproductive.

22. Teachers of provincial smalltown background seem to be the most amenable to the system's ideological appeals. On the whole, however, a majority of teachers within each social background category still maintains some ties with the Church.

23. While fewer teachers of workingclass background maintain ties with the Church, those who do maintain such ties exceed in the intensity of their religious orientation that of teachers of other class backgrounds.

24. Although data directly relating the variable of teachers' background to that of teaching effectiveness are lacking, one would logically assume that teachers who are themselves not fully socialized into the system's values would be unable to perform at an optimum as socializers of others.

25. Among teachers trained after World War II, younger teachers are less committed to the official educational values than older teachers. Commitment to official systemic values and goals decreases with lower age.

26. With the socializers being themselves only partially socialized, or not at all, the future for Poland seems to be a prolonged period of transition, with contending forces -- representing competing values, norms and behavioral styles -- having to choose either combat and tension, or, alternately, some form of extended modus-vivendi.

27. There are indications that where the forces representing the new system are placed in cohabitation and accommodation with the forces of traditional culture (e.g., school and parish, teacher and village priest), the former give way to the latter.

28. There are indications that except for systemic idealists those who are by virtue of ambition or occupational function placed in a position to represent the system do not really mind "giving in" to the forces of tradition as long as their authority position and prestige are preserved in the process.

29. The current Polish educational experience bears implication for societies undergoing a process of transition, regardless of the formal ideological direction to which a given political system is committed. Since American society is at the present in the throes of change much of that experience -- especially as it concerns efforts to bring about equalization of educational opportunities -- has special significance to the United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

There are 145 references listed in the Report, primarily drawn from Polish educational literature but some from American literature as well.

PUBLICATIONS AND RELATED RESEARCH

1. Material contained in the final Report, inasmuch as it deals with the educational experience on the broader canvas of socio-economic and political change, was contracted for book publication.

2. Some aspects of the research conducted on the Polish teaching profession were incorporated in a comparative analysis, "Occupational Group

Values vs. The System's Expectations: Teachers in East Europe and the United States," paper delivered at the 63rd Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 7, 1967.

3. An article analyzing research which replicated the study among student-teachers in Poland in a large multi-ethnic Midwestern community in the United States, is currently in preparation. This analysis compares the responses from Poland with those of American student-teachers of Polish descent and a general sample of American student-teachers (of Polish descent excluded), utilizing the same instrument.

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PREFACE

Political philosophers, beginning with Plato and Aristotle and continuing through Rousseau and modern political thinkers, have paid close attention to the system of education and perceived it as the transmission belt for the dissemination and propagation of "desirable" values. Lenin, the foremost theorist and founder of modern Communism, looked upon the institutions of education as weapons in the revolutionary struggle and often referred to the process of education as an aspect of "political propaganda." The values fostered by the institutions of learning are those which presumably reflect the values and beliefs, the norms and goals, of those in control of the system (including its educational enterprise), and assimilation of these values will influence, in turn, the development of "desirable" behavior patterns. In other words, those in control of the educational system in a society hope to instill in their charges an ability to synthesize the "right" ends with correspondingly "correct" means of social action.

The countries of Eastern Europe are presently in a process of value transition, and institutions, belief systems, and styles of the old order continue to exist alongside those representative of the new political system, its ideology, and moral code. New political and social organizations seemingly dominate the scene but these must compete or share in influence with such deep-rooted institutions as the family, the Church, and a host of other institutions of various degrees of formality or informality, including traditional patterns of "doing things."

In addition to the political revolution which took place in Eastern Europe, the area as a whole but particularly a country such as Poland has also undergone profound changes in the realms of industrialization and urbanization. In part these latter changes were brought about by the political revolution and its goals, in part by the geographic boundary changes resultant from World War II, and in part by the impact of global changes on these fronts. To meet the demands of the political revolution and of changing socio-economic conditions, school authorities all over Eastern Europe have initiated a number of educational reforms. In Poland these reforms began first in 1962-63. With alterations and revisions, the reform movement, as it were, continued throughout the sixties and further changes are being constantly discussed and contemplated. With varying success these reforms aim essentially at bringing the schools "into line" with the realities of changing socio-political conditions and the requirements of a new industry-oriented economy. There seems to be an awareness among East European educators and educational theorists that "corrective changes" are imperative since, in the words of Bohdan Suchodolski, a veteran of Polish progressive education, "the traditional concept of education is crumbling under the pressure of new ideas and the demands of the age."

Fulfillment of these demands, however, is not without obstacles. The aim placed upon the schools to turn out citizens who might be capable of becoming active and "cooperative" members of the new technological-industrial and "socialist" community meet head on with (a) entrenched traditional culture patterns perpetuated by the family, the Church, and other well-established formal and informal institutions; (b) entrenched educational traditions which were by-and-large of a classical and humanistic character and elitist in nature; (c) the scarcity of personnel trained under the new system and thus, presumably, sufficiently equipped to meet the system's technological goals and its ideological objectives; (d) the existence of vested interests, functional, economic, and ideological, which may oppose the realization of the larger goals related to education.

Among the opposing functional interests may also be those of the educators themselves who may have reasons to fear the effect of radical alterations in the existing school system. In addition, there is the conflict, not unfamiliar in the West, between the demands imposed upon the educational process by the "specialists," on the one hand, and by the "ideologues," on the other, between science and Marxism, between secularism and the beliefs born of religious faith, between what is described in the official language as "approximate knowledge" ("the needs of the broad masses") and "selective knowledge." Education is an area in which the interests of educators often conflict with the interests of economic planners and the will of administrators.

The process of transformation will continue for a long time as even the most optimistic and most impatient among the leaders and planners realize, and in the course of the changes, old school reform designs will be discarded and new ones will emerge. The final outcome is not necessarily assured since what might develop in the future may not be quite what the leaders of the system envision or desire nor what the "traditionalists" hope to salvage from the past but rather a synthesis of the new, the old, and the transitional itself, jelled into patterns all its own. It would appear, however, that whatever the future of East European and particularly Polish education may hold, it will include an emphasis on "vocationalism" and "practicality" unknown in the past. From the present political system's point of view, however, the "ideal" is to develop future generations of citizens not only in possession of the technical skills needed by the new economy but also citizens thoroughly "socialized" into the values and norms of a society officially committed to a socialist socio-economic order as well as into the more traditional virtues of patriotism and love of Fatherland. What those in charge of the present political system would ideally hope to achieve is a total identification in the minds of the young with the system, with the socialist ideology and with the concept of Fatherland -- all merged into one -- so that there could be no divisive loyalties, no doubts, but instead an almost instinctive acceptance and commitment to the three as an inseparable entity. Once such conditions of socialization are achieved the acceptance, for example, of a lasting alliance between People's Poland and the Soviet Union will come naturally. This alliance is to the present Polish political system not merely a feature of its foreign policy orientation but rather a cardinal principle and one of the reasons for its existence, and acceptance of this principle in the popular mind must first be firmly implanted so as to dislocate traditional hostilities born of generations of preceding educational endeavors.

However, much of the success of these socialization efforts, as does the success in developing new economy-related skills and values, hinges upon the availability as well as the competence of teaching cadres. The objective of this study, therefore, is to determine how well those presently engaged in the process of socialization through education (i.e., the teachers) -- in a key East European system, Poland -- are themselves socialized, and how socialized (and thus, presumably, equipped to meet the system's educational goals) are the future "socializers" (that is, student-teachers). Since many of the teachers presently engaged in the educational enterprise -- in addition to the student-teachers -- were themselves totally educated under the new political system and under the conditions of the new economy, an answer to the preceding will also lend insight, in part, as to the effectiveness of Polish education in meeting the expectations and goals the system has placed before it. In general terms, while exploring the *various forms and avenues whereby the socio-political values of the political system are inculcated into the school organization, the study aims at identifying the factors which may impinge upon or, conversely, foster the process of value socialization, especially with respect to the teacher as a socialization agent*. Since the school plays a central role in the process of change, in the process of meeting stated as well as implied goals of the system, no study dealing seriously with education or its effects can fail to consider also the *broader social canvas*, both how it affects the organization of education and is itself, in turn, affected by it.

Five major but closely related working *hypotheses* emerged from the initial theoretical considerations of the *problem of education in a period of radical socio-political and economic change* as well as from a consideration of the specific situation in Poland which was selected as the area of research. These hypotheses were stated without any *a priori* intellectual commitment as to their "inevitable" correctness but rather as guides, so to speak, in order to help sharpen and facilitate the research focus. While these hypotheses emerged as logical but tentative statements of conditions expected -- on the basis of preceding theoretical considerations and knowledge of the field -- they are, however, *subject to confirmation or disconfirmation* by the actual findings of the study. These initial guiding hypotheses are:

1. Professional group norms (including commitment to disciplinary specialization) tend to lessen a teacher's ability to internalize the system's ideological values and thus rend him inefficient in the process of transmission of such values to students;

2. Older teachers and teachers of long tenure in the teaching profession are amenable to accepting systemic demands, values, and expecta-

tions to a much greater extent than younger teachers or teachers of shorter tenure in the profession although the latter (that is, those of younger age and/or short tenure) have been educated wholly under the new system while the former have been educated, in the main, under presystemic conditions; in other words, it is assumed here that age and professional tenure are contributing factors accelerating socialization into the given system and accommodation to existing conditions and demands;

3. Factors of social background (i.e., class origin, urban or rural residence, church affiliation, etc.) impede or facilitate the teachers' internalization of the ideological values and the efficiency of their transmission to students;

4. Among teachers of comparably advanced age (e.g., 40 years and over), those trained after World War II manifest a higher commitment to the official educational values than those trained prior to World War II -- the underlying assumption being that older teachers would feel a sense of gratitude toward the system for having enabled them to enter a profession at a rather advanced stage in life, especially since these would in all likelihood be persons of workingclass or peasant background whose chances under the old order were minimal and whose own education, if any, would have been interrupted by war and occupation;

5. Among teachers trained after World War II, the younger teachers are less committed to the official educational values than are older teachers -- an hypothesis prompted by considerations of the general "youth culture" and rebellion against existing systemic norms and expectations, not limited to East Europe or Poland in particular but characteristic of overall conditions of the Sixties, induced perhaps by political uncertainties, technological change, etc.

The above hypotheses would indicate that the study would concentrate on seeking answers to *questions* such as these: What might be the factors impeding or facilitating the "harmonization" of values and beliefs (as officially espoused) and behavior, including teaching behavior? What are the dilemmas and conflicts facing various groups of teachers (e.g., the young, the old, the pre- or post-World War II educated, the specialists, the scientists, the generalists, the humanists, the religiously-oriented, the urban or rural, etc.) which might hinder their own socialization and, thus, occupational efficiency? What are the major difficulties encountered by educators in Poland, both in the community as well as in pursuit of their occupational activities? How are difficulties overcome? What organizational, institutional, general societal and cultural forces work towards conformity or nonconformity? Since, in addition to considerations of the impact of the current "youth culture" on members of the young generation and general awareness that age works in the direction of conservatism and acceptance, of making peace with existing social conditions, there were indications from initial readings of Polish sociological literature that older teachers in particular manifest more enthusiasm and career orientation than their younger colleagues, the study would attempt to explore the possible reasons which would cause such conditions to develop -- *conditions pregnant with consequences as to the system's future*. Are these reasons solely related to age or the specific period of the teacher's own education and training, or both? Are they related to larger social forces which influence certain groups of teachers more than others?

The study would further try to *determine the nature of the various "corrective changes" made in the organization and content of Polish education and attempt to determine whether these are indeed useful in the process of goal achievement*. Have these changes affected in any way, for example, old established traditions or, conversely, do the traditions neutralize or cancel out the effects of planned change? How are the needs induced by technological change, industrialization, and urbanization being imposed upon the educational system and how are such needs being met by a system which traditionally was oriented towards the humanities and general social sciences? This question brings into focus the entire problem of co-existence of the "two cultures" -- the traditional-humanistic, on the one hand, and the technological-scientific, on the other -- which faces all societies today but is particularly acute and aggravated in societies emerging -- nay, jumping -- from almost pre-industrial traditionalism into a modernity marked by sophisticated technology. Since Poland is a country undergoing both "modernization" and ideological and economic "socialization" -- how does a system committed formally to the latter deal with the possible conflicts between the "two cultures" and their respective practitioners? How does a country committed ideologically to social egalitarianism and classlessness deal -- if at all -- with traditional social inequities and with an educational system which was traditionally elitist? How well could such traditions be overcome, or must ideological intentions succumb to established, time-honored ways? How do values and norms born of socialist ideology fare in a soil of a traditional national culture in which religion figured so prominently, and, conversely, how are elements of traditional culture which may be viewed as impeding the achievement of the officially stated goals of the system, dealt with? The latter would include values and styles related to the family structure, sex morality and behavior, as well as attitudes towards sex education -- a problem not unknown to Americans. What indeed is the place of education in the totality of the existing economy -- in terms of the respective needs and priorities both of the economy as well as of education? The range of problems and questions which suggest themselves are so numerous, of such importance, and obviously they cannot all be dealt with in this study with similar adequacy. Some are explored in greater depth and with greater precision, others are merely touched upon. It would appear, however, that whatever general conclusions this study arrives at, their applicability may very well be valid in considering other newly developing political systems and systems in which broadly conceived social plans and goals, in the process of implementation, face deep-rooted cultural traditions and norms.

The field work for this study began late in 1965, and continued throughout 1966 and through various periods of 1967 and 1968. However, some of the supplemental data incorporated were obtained from the field as late as September, 1969. The year 1966 turned out to be particularly difficult for serious field research in Poland, especially in the area of education. The fact that the initiative for the study came from an American citizen, affiliated with an American academic institution, sponsored in his research by an agency of the American government (i.e., the Office of Education) compounded the problem, and the fact that the nature of the research endeavor necessitated a great deal of travel over the length and breadth of Poland, including provincial cities and towns, did not help either. During that year (1966) the United States press featured allegations of the connection between U.S. academic institutions and various agencies of American intelligence, of U.S. social scientists serving such agencies under the guise of legitimate field research, and these stories found their way prominently into Polish press organs rendering suspect, at least in certain circles, any American scholar engaged in serious field research in a "socialist" country. Coupled with this were two other features characterizing 1966: the campaign against the war in Vietnam reached its height in Poland at that period, with anti-war and anti-U.S. slogans strung across major Polish city streets, with periodic demonstrations in front of the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw (there were three such demonstrations during the month of July, each with increasing damage to the Embassy structure); and, most importantly, this was also the year commemorating the Millenium of Polish statehood and Christian nationhood bringing into sharp play the contending forces and claims to that heritage of the secular state and the dominant Party, on the one hand, and the Church and religion, on the other. Since research for this study dealt precisely with questions of religion and secularism, Church and political socialization, and the attitudes towards these, it brought the investigator into an area of particular *sensitivity* during that period. On the other hand, precisely because of these conditions responses obtained to such questions assume additional weight and significance.

But regardless of the difficulties attendant the above period, *research on problems of education seem to be generally wrought with difficulties* in a country such as Poland, *regardless* of whether or not undertaken by an American and *regardless* of who might be the sponsor. For one thing, although the Main Statistical Bureau (*Główny Urząd Statystyczny*) periodically publishes statistical data pertinent to education and in 1967 issued a special educational "Yearbook" covering the period 1944-45 - 1966-67, precise statistics are not easy to obtain because of quite "objective" reasons. There are, for example, no exact figures for persons fully employed as teachers as distinguished from teachers who are employed in education only part time. There are no readily available statistics on teachers with respect to social background (e.g., father's occupation), or to precise subject-matter specialization, not to speak of such vital background data as religious affiliation, party affiliation, etc. The Polish Teachers' Union is divided, for example, along lines with respect to level of education in which members are employed (e.g., higher education, secondary, etc.) but there are no distinctions on its membership rosters at each level as to those engaged in actual classroom teaching, in school administration, or in custodial work since the Union includes among its members all persons employed by the educational system, regardless of level or occupational function. Even a precise distribution of ages among teachers is hard to come by formally. The existence of such and similar difficulties were hinted at by Dr. Mikołaj Kozakiewicz when he reported on his own study on teachers' attitudes undertaken in 1959 (see his Światopogląd 1000 nauczycieli: Sprawozdanie z badań ankietowych, 1961, pp. 10-15).

Consequently, the research strategy had to take these difficulties into consideration as well as the sensitivity of the period. The state/Party-Church friction of 1966 was replaced by frictions of another kind in 1968, partly resultant from the political situation in Poland itself and partly related to the situation in neighboring Czechoslovakia at the time. In order to proceed with the research and study project formal and informal arrangements had to be made with colleagues in Poland, with their institutions, and as much as was possible the author was personally involved in the various phases of the research activities in the field. An initial questionnaire which was designed for independent administration had to undergo several revisions and questionnaire items finally had to be incorporated into a research instrument adopted by a Polish research unit which was interested in similar research problems for reasons of its own, and only in such way could answers to some of the questions be obtained. The conditions attendant research in Europe and particularly in Eastern Europe *are simply different from those to which an American social scientist working within his own socio-political context is accustomed to, and certain adjustments of methodological nature as well as strategy have to be made.*

This study then is based upon the following:

1. Careful analysis of the available *literature* (books, monographs, statistical data, official laws, circulars, directives and orders, press releases, articles which appeared in the daily and periodic press, both professional as well as general);

2. *In-depth interviews* conducted with teachers, school administrators, and others involved in problems of education and educational policies;

3. *Observations derived from attendance at several local and regional conferences* sponsored by (a) school district administrations, and (b) the Polish Teachers' Union;

4. *Visitations to schools* and *focused-type interviews* conducted with student groups;

5. Analysis of final secondary school (*matura*) *graduating examinations* -- questions and responses -- administered in *five different* school districts;

6. Analysis of *responses to a structured questionnaire administered to 416 students (including 63 student-teachers) of teachers' training colleges* (*Studium Nauczycielskie*) located in *five distinctively different* localities;

7. *Analysis of responses to a structured questionnaire administered to 276 secondary school teachers* drawn from the Union roster in *five different school districts.*

Despite the difficulties mentioned, this author was fortunate enough to be invited to staff seminars, research planning conferences, and generally to enjoy the cooperation (both informal and formal) of the personnel of the Research Department of the Polish Teachers' Union (which does not itself undertake research projects but, instead, sponsors or "farms out" projects it is interested in to other cooperating research units), the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences which initially invited this author to Poland, the Commission for Industrializing Regions of the Polish Academy of Sciences, as well as the personnel of various school district kuratoria. Among individuals, the assistance of the following ought to be mentioned: Professor Robert E. Agger, formerly of the University of Oregon and presently of McMaster University (Hamilton, Ontario, Canada) who travelled twice to Poland from Holland as consultant for this project; Dr. Dyzma Gałaj, Director of the Research Center for Industrializing Regions of the Academy; Dr. Mikołaj Kozakiewicz of the same Center, former editor of the organ of the Teachers' Union Głos Nauczycielski, one of the most active research workers in the field of education and one of the most prolific writers on problems of school secularization; M. Szarras of the Research Department of the Polish Teachers' Union; Professor Jan Szczepański, presently Director of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Academy; Dr. Adam Sarapata of the same Institute. Among the American associates, special mention should be given to Mrs. Rachele Moto-Fiszman for her assistance in the field as well as for editing the final report and to Mrs. Anita Chavan for her untiring help in preparing the final manuscript. There were, of course, other persons, particularly in Poland, who were of enormous help, especially in initiating one to the problems on hand, in alerting one to possible research difficulties, in trying to overcome certain obstacles, etc. Association with most of these people was generally a tremendously uplifting experience. It should be stressed that all these persons (and others) while trying to help were at all times loyal to their country, the system and its interests, and at no time did their assistance in any way overstep the boundaries of legality or of what was permitted in the normal course of activity in the field. The responsibility for this Report is solely the author's and he alone is to blame for whatever shortcomings it contains. At the same time, this author would like to emphasize that his sole interest in this particular research enterprise was purely scholarly and academic, born of a genuine research curiosity and, basically, from a sense of sympathy for that society and admiration for the progress it has made in certain areas and the efforts it has undertaken -- enormous especially in the light of its recent historical experience -- to bring the country into the cultural mainstream of the Twentieth Century. While not sharing the official orientation of the Polish political system, the author could even sympathize with some of the problems that system faces though not always agreeing with its solutions to these problems. Another thing: while the investigator's American nationality sometimes caused him certain difficulties it also produced, and in much greater measure, expressions of friendship which he perhaps would otherwise not have enjoyed.

The research instruments utilized in Poland -- both that used among students at the teachers' training colleges as well as that used among secondary school teachers -- were subsequently applied in similar research in Yugoslavia and in the United States (in a West Coast community and in a large multi-ethnic metropolitan center of the Midwest). References to these latter studies are occasionally made -- for comparative purposes -- in this research report which, however, deals only with the Polish experience. It is an experience which, as indicated, bears implications for education generally in an age of rapid social and technological change but has particular bearing on problems of education and socialization in societies in transition from traditionalism to modernity, regardless of the ideological "coloration" that the direction towards the latter assumes.

Chapter I

The Setting

1. The Setting: A System in Transition

World War II and its short as well as long range aftermath has brought about radical changes in almost all parts of the world. These changes are especially marked in East Europe. Yet, concomitant with the transformation many of the pre-World War II, traditional political, social, and cultural patterns have persisted although frequently in a modified form.

Poland has been affected by these changes to a greater extent perhaps than other East European countries and, at the same time, the older, traditional behavior patterns have manifested a greater resilience there than elsewhere. Industrialization and urbanization have reached a country which prior to World War II was relatively "provincial," "parochial," and by Western standards even backward. Often imposed upon old habits and styles, these changes could not but induce some degree of psychological strain in those most affected. At the same time the advances in industrial and scientific technology, urbanization, the spread of mass communication, have given rise to economic, social, and political aspirations to segments of the population, primarily the peasants and workers who in the past were or felt disenfranchised, introducing on the whole deep alterations into the system of social relations.

As far as Poland is concerned, the process of change was further accelerated and radicalized by post-World War II border adjustments and resultant mass migration and, last but not least, as in other East European countries, the formalization of the upheaval by an ideology which posits radical change as its goal.

While ideologies do not in themselves contain specific policies, nevertheless they do give force and impetus to a set of objectives, values, styles, and beliefs which the leaders of the movement identified with the particular ideology desire to inculcate into society so that in time these may take root and give rise to corresponding voluntary, almost instinctive, behavior patterns.

Yet, although the official ideology of present-day Poland posits industrialization and technological progress both as a goal in itself as well as a precondition for the fulfillment of larger aims, it was introduced into a society, as already indicated, which was pseudo-feudalistic in structure and prevalent style. Even those among the Polish intelligentsia who rose into that status from an emerging middle class patterned themselves after the model produced by the socially dominant gentry. In times of stress, when faced by an external enemy, reliance on the traditional symbols and values became synonymous with national, patriotic resistance, and even those who ideologically were opposed to the old order found themselves upholding that order's institutions and goals. It is significant, for example, that the relatively radical leadership of the underground school movement in Poland during World War II, a leadership which consisted of pre-war activists of the Polish Teachers' Union -- an organization embattled by the government and the Church authorities in the late Thirties -- nevertheless considered themselves dutybound to perpetuate the traditions of the old school system.[1] The school system has since undergone significant structural and institutional changes but within it, as within society at large, many of the old pre-war patterns remain and it is part of the complex revolutionary picture that these continue alongside new norms and styles. For example: the high regard for learning while fostered by the revolutionary regime is at the same time a carryover of the old value system in Poland. It is rather noteworthy that young people in Poland clamor for entrance into overcrowded universities, often choosing courses which in financial terms (e.g., sociology, philosophy, history, literature, etc.) would be less remunerative than much shorter training in a technical but socially less prestigious occupation. The co-existence of old and new values is further manifested in attitudes towards work; in new attitudes towards birth control and divorce while at the same time according the woman her traditional place in society; in the drive for efficiency and organization, mingled with a relaxed attitude towards the very concept of time and its proper utilization. New interpersonal relations coexist with old status, religious, and ethnic prejudices as well as with old courtesies. On the superficial yet symbolic side the coexistence of the old and the new is most vividly manifested in the increasing presence of motorized vehicles which compete for space and rights of way with horsedrawn carts on old gravel or cobblestone roads as well as on new highways. Although the content of the authority symbols is new, the respect accorded them is traditional; pride in near eradication of illiteracy is dimmed by frequent press complaints on the lack or low level of "personal culture" as manifested in matters of hygiene; a new "socialist patriotism" conflicts but also coexists with the Church.

Although the Church in Poland was often in conflict with the pre-World War II secular authorities, at the present it nevertheless serves, objectively, as an organized reminder of the old order. Relations between the regime and the Church have gone through periods of hostility, coexistence and, at times, even uneasy cooperation. In Poland these relations are particularly aggravated at the present much because, as Professor Konstanty Grzybowski points out, no doubt with some justification, the Polish Church hierarchy assumes that since the Poles are a Catholic nation it has the right to speak on their behalf.[2] But the government and, presently, the Party claim the same right. These claims have brought the Church into conflict with secular authorities in the past, also, but never were these divergent claims the source of tension as they currently are simply because never before did the Church and the State start out from so basically different philosophical assumptions and frames of reference. In the period of monarchic rule the Church felt subordinated to Rome rather than to the weak Polish king -- but at least the king himself saw his role as that of a defender of the faith and from time to time allied with the hierarchy to ward off a hostile gentry or other competing socio-political interests.

Generations of Poles were taught that they have a special mission in this world, in part due to the geographic position of Poland in Europe. They saw themselves as the last outpost of a Western Catholic Europe in the East and thus as defenders of Western civilization against a hostile frontier. As in the case of other frontier residents their attachment to what they were to defend and guard was traditionally fanatical and unyielding. When the non-Catholic neighbor on the East emerged as a power surpassing that of Poland (in union with Lithuania) and finally, in alliance with Poland's neighbors to the West and South managed to bring about the disintegration of that country, the notion of "Pole" and the notion of "Catholic" came to be equated. The "good" Pole was a Catholic Pole and the convert to Orthodoxy, the faith of the neighbors to the East, was viewed as a traitor to the nation and practically excommunicated from the life of the community. During the long period of partition in Poland, as in the case of the Jews, nation and religious faith became identified with each other, and it was precisely this union which attracted Rousseau to the Poles. He saw Catholicism as a national religion in Poland contributing to a sense of solidarity and cohesion. The Church for its part gladly accepted that role and fostered allegiance in the faithful to the collective bodies of nation and Church rather than to religion as a road to redemption through individual perfectibility. Thus the loyal Catholic Pole did not necessarily feel compelled to internalize the principles of piety and practice them in daily life. His Catholicism, as the Church, was perceived in broad social, political, and symbolic terms, and the Church indeed saw its role in like manner. As such it became generally conservative, traditionalist, and "politicized."

State-Church conflict in Poland is currently further complicated and sensitized by the fact the Polish clergy, unlike elsewhere in East Europe, generally assumed an anti-Nazi position during the occupation and a measure of goodwill remains, from those years at least. Such feelings towards the Church and the clergy may serve as a restraint on government action against the institution of religion but it apparently does not contribute to a resolution of the existing state-church tensions. These are intensified by the fact (easily exploited in anti-Church propaganda) that a representative of the Polish emigre government is still accredited at the Vatican thus signifying non-recognition by the Holy See of the existing Warsaw government; tensions are even further aggravated by the Vatican's official reference to the former German territories presently under Polish jurisdiction as "territories under temporary Polish Church administration." Having, on the one hand, lost territories in the East, Poles of all political shades view the former German territories not only as a matter of historical justice inasmuch as it fulfills an ancient claim but also as a matter of compensation for the war losses as well as a fact of life. To the Poles control over the formerly German territories is one of the few symbols of having been the first to fight on the side of the victorious alliance -- a just reward if nothing else. Moreover, many Poles displaced from the Eastern areas ceded to the Soviet Union have settled in the cities and villages of the former German territories and by now a generation of young Poles native to the new locale has established itself on the scene.

Much of the official governmental animosity is centered against the person of Cardinal Stafan Wyszynski who symbolizes in his person resistance against increased secularization. Yet, it was he who backed Władyslaw Gomułka's return to power at the time of the "Polish October" in 1956, seeing in him the only possible realistic alternative acceptable both to the Soviet Union and to those in Poland who sought greater independence from the powerful neighbor on the East.

Nevertheless, regardless of the periodic ups and downs in State-

Church relations, the Church remains in opposition to the regime, offering the masses a competing value and belief system, appealing -- again in competition with the government -- with a set of metaphysical-idealistic and patriotic symbols. Before the war and probably also now the Church accepts the encyclical of Pope Pius XI with regard to Christian education of youth. The Church, as the Party, assumes it represents a "perfect society" and thus has the "right" and "duty" to "watch over the entire education of her children, in all institutions, public or private."[3]

The reason space is given in this Introduction to the problem of State-Church relations is not only because religion is contradictory to the official ideology of contemporary Poland and the institution of the Church in opposition to the ruling Party but especially because the open conflicts between the two belief systems have forced people, and particularly those charged with the task of value socialization, to choose sides. Even if the choice were not explicitly forced upon them, the entire atmosphere nevertheless would make even a wavering attitude a matter of some concern. One must assume that a deeply felt religious commitment is not compatible with the particular ideology just as a socialist consciousness, as Marx conceived it, is contradictory to religion. This assumption must be made on the basis of the normic evidence alone, although the realities of present-day Poland, a country in transition and torn between competing value and belief systems, are such that there are persons who consider themselves believing Catholics and, at the same time, are sympathetic toward the regime, just as there are those who declare themselves atheists and yet are far from de-Christianization.[4]

However, what is assumed here is that *a person's pro-religious attitudes disqualify him from being an effective agent of socialization into a Communist-Socialist value and belief system, and render him incapable of inculcating in others a Marxist consciousness* especially in a society where religion-ideology, Church and state, are politically so sharply dichotomized. Certainly, given the prevailing relationship of forces in East Europe, some Party ideologues would willingly settle on a solution of coexistence with the Church were the Church to give up its active socio-political posture, its involvement in the affairs of the nation, and were the Church to settle only on the propagation among the faithful of its own particular philosophical and metaphysical view of the world.[5] Moreover, even were the Church to settle on these concerns alone this nevertheless would have an effect on the political behavior of believers and such beliefs, if held by teachers, could have some impact on their efficacy as *proper agents of socialization into a competing value system which includes as one of its basic premises a secular outlook on the world*.

2. The Setting: Education in a Period of Transition

Political philosophers, beginning with Plato and Aristotle and continuing through Rousseau and modern political thinkers, have given special emphasis to the system of education and perceived it as the transmission belt for the dissemination and propagation of "desirable" values. Lenin, the foremost theorist and founder of modern Communism, looked upon the institutions of education as weapons in the revolutionary struggle and often referred to the process of education as aspects of "political propaganda." The values fostered by the institutions of learning presumably reflect the values and beliefs of those in control of the system (including the educational enterprise) and assimilation of these values will, in turn, influence "desirable" behavior patterns. In other words, those in control of the educational system in a society hope to instill in their charges an ability to synthesize the "right" ends with correspondingly "correct" means of social action. It is indeed a struggle for the totality of the pupil's personality not merely a mechanical process of introducing the student to a "scientific outlook or an acceptance of Marxist theory."[6] This alone is obviously not enough since one can learn Marxism just as one learns physics or chemistry without necessarily having accepted, as a result, an altered frame of reference and behavior. As one of the theorists of modern Polish education states the problem:

> Many theologians learned Marxism, understood it, and even recognized its validity in many respects -- yet after finishing their studies their general position is one of denial of Marxism. The pedagogue and educator must understand that the world outlook he must mold in his pupils cannot be achieved through books but through the mind and heart of the student; that it is not printed but felt and professed, lived and thought... Thus, when one speaks of forming a scientific Marxist world outlook what is meant is the formation of a state of affairs in which the person thinks Marxist, lives Marxist, acts Marxist.[7]

However, before the educator can achieve the desired results he himself must be in possession of the appropriate instincts. In fact, those Party ideologues who would rationalize imperfect conditions of socialization, theorizing that one can be both Catholic and pro-socialist, would settle for half the individual, one who is acquiescent but not fully committed. Yet, nothing but full commitment on the part of the population, especially the younger generation, can assure the security of the system and fulfillment of the plans, both in the realm of the socio-political order and in the realm of economic development. The child must assimilate the values of the system, absorb the symbols which express these values; and the adult born and educated under the pre-revolutionary regime must be retooled, socialized. He is like the immigrant who must learn to adapt himself to a new value system and to new behavior patterns not only for his own personal survival in the changed environment but also that he will not, by his own "alienation," induce discord in others. This may also be a problem for many adults in the United States who either refuse to face rapidly changing conditions or who are unable, because of previously learned sets of expectations, to take advantage fully of the newly emerging opportunities. The problem, however, is much more radical in a country launched by the government on the road to socialism and in which institutions of a prior regime and behavior patterns and styles still remain. It is said that the Puerto Rican in New York has difficulty learning English because he lives within the compact mass of Spanish-speaking people and because Puerto Rico is close in distance and relatively accessible to him. To the "immigrants" from the pre-Socialist system in Poland the Church is their San Juan and readily accessible. The problem is further compounded by the fact that relatively few "migrated," as it were, from the old system into the new voluntarily; nor did they have time during the capitalist system to form a personality suitable for entry into the higher Marxist developmental stage since socialism in Poland did not evolve out of capitalism in the same gradual manner as capitalism itself evolved out of feudalism. Professor Jan Szczepański makes precisely this point and goes on to say that the "socialist personality type" is in clash with the traditional Polish personality types.[8]

The road to the new personality is further obstructed by demoralization brought about by the brutal occupation of World War II during which human life was cheap and the ability to survive became an art. Although over twenty years have passed since that time the memory lingers with most. Unsettled conditions of the postwar years and many changes have further aggravated the situation, and present-day cynicism, juvenile delinquency, escape into alcohol, the quick acceptance of current foreign fads can, in part at least, be attributable to these factors. Moreover, the relative well being of the masses resultant from industrialization and urbanization, from a rising level of technological education, rather than bringing people closer to the desired socialist personality seems to induce in them a heightened yearning for material goods, for gadgets, and increasingly lower weight is given to values more idealistic in nature.

Even if it were true, as some Western observers maintain, that the political elite in East Europe, faced with the necessity of making daily applicable policies, is becoming deradicalized, and even if some of that elite's measures have the effect of reorienting the population away from ideologically inspired values, the official commitment to that ideology remains just as strong. And just as strong is the desire to see the mass of the population socialized into it. As the Polish social scientist, Jerzy Wiatr, remarks in his critique of those who see the approaching end of ideology:

> ...de-ideologization or even the weakening of the role of ideology would have been tantamount to putting on the brakes on socialist transformation ... the educational idea of socialism is of fundamental importance. Only those who believe that conditions in our country are perfect can agree to the decline of the ideology or even to postulate de-ideologization...[9]

Indeed, the "socialist educational model," as other educational models, is designed to build mass support for the existing system by injecting in those who go through the educational process positive feelings towards the system's expectations. This, of course, does not mean that the process may not "backfire" -- that is, that those introduced to the normative values of the system may not be led to expect more than what socio-political and economic reality is able to deliver and, consequently, be appalled by the gap. The demand to "live up" to the ideal, to the normative "promises" may very well be at the root of student unrest in many parts of the world, including Poland. This problem may be one of the many dilemmas facing contemporary education -- the problem of how indeed to reconcile the expectations induced by the normative order with the conditions of the empirical order.

Bogdan Suchodolski, perhaps the foremost philosopher of education in Poland, describes education in general as "a process of social activity, deeply rooted in historical conditions and problems of our times, as well as historical aims of our nation."[10] Nevertheless, to those more directly involved with the task of education in Poland, the "historical conditions and problems of our times" boils down to defining education as a "process which is supposed to create in the student's mind a Communist consciousness, to guide them into Communistic behavior as well as to develop their scientific and creative abilities and talents."[11] The system, moreover, is in need of persons who would be good citizens not merely in a contemplative manner but in active involvement. As the Polish Minister of Education once stated: "The nation needs good, socially mature citizens who have an activist attitude towards reality and who understand the mechanics of social change; we need knowledge of work and its organization, the ability for leadership and subordination; solidarity and readiness to help others, reliability and honesty with oneself and with others."[12]

The school system of Poland attempts to inject into traditional "patriotic education" a new socialist-communist content, and to implant in the minds of the pupils the idea that the concepts of Fatherland, patriotism, and socialism are inseparably associated with one another.[13] Yet, the school system is only one of the socializing agencies, often in competition with primary socializing agencies such as the family. Children of even high Party officials are brought up in a religious tradition by their devout mothers and grandfathers, often without the father's awareness of the process. Especially in the provinces one can hardly make an appointment with a photographer on the eve of the First Communion. Just as in the period of mass immigration the American system hoped to reach the adult members of the immigrant family through their "socialized" children, the Party in Poland hopes to reach the parents of the pupils educated in the new schools.[14]

The necessity to rear deeply committed generations of citizens who will voluntarily produce proper responses is prompted not only by the desire to build and strengthen the system but also by the need to defend it, given the nature of modern warfare which places a great deal of stress on the reliability of a single, technically competent soldier. As two authors of a prize-winning Polish military text explain:

> Discipline based on consciousness replaces discipline based on terror... No one can stand behind (the soldier's) back at all times to see how he executes an order. He will have to act alone, of his own free will, of his own initiative... This can be achieved only if the man in the field is deeply committed, unswervingly convinced that the cause for which he fights is just -- that is, a man of severe inner discipline, fully responsible for his own acts.[15]

As indicated, in addition to the political revolution, Poland has also undergone profound changes in the realm of industrialization and urbanization. In part these latter changes were brought about by the political revolution and its goals, in part by the geographic boundary changes resultant from World War II, and in part by the impact of global changes in these areas. If a primitive economy had no need for an elaborate school system to train cadres for its purposes, industrialization is in need of an educational system which would functionally be attuned to its needs and further development. As Clark Kerr and his associates point out, education in a modern society becomes the "handmaiden" of industrialism.[16] Suffice it to point out that in 1931 29.7% of the labor force in Poland was employed in non-agricultural work and by 1960 it was 52.9%.[17] Certainly, the enormous growth of the non-agriculturally employed population in Poland may be attributed, in part at least, to that country's loss of the industrially backward areas in the East after World War II and the shift of its borders towards a more industrialized West. Yet, it is also the result of a conscious and deliberate effort on the part of the government. Poles like to compare their present state of technological and industrial development with that of Turkey which did not suffer from war devastation and whose non-agricultural labor force during the same period (1931-1960) rose only by 6.8% (as compared by Poland's 23.2% growth), and they attribute the Polish industrial advance to the regime's policies. A former Minister of Higher Education in Poland, Henryk Golański, no doubt expresses the official view when he says: "The general prospects of contemporary civilization lie in the welding of the twin factors of scientific and social progress and social revolution."[18]

For Poland, as for any socialist-community system, established in societies in the infancy of capitalist development, the problem of adjustment to a technological age and the ability to compete in the international marketplace takes on special urgency and is not merely a matter of catching up for the sake of prestige or even economic competition and profit. The very vision of a Marxist future is closely linked with the ability to supersede semi-feudal styles and values with technologically and scientifically oriented skills and value patterns. After all, it was Lenin who saw a symbolic link between a country's level of electrification and the conditions necessary for the establishment of the new order. It was also Lenin, however, who warned that "illiterate people cannot tackle electrification, and...mere literacy is not enough either."[19] The burden then is on the school system and on those active in it to prepare the youth for life in an industrial-technological society just as much as it is to socialize them into the socio-political values of the system. In the United States the expectations attached to the school system in connection with the growth of industry began in the wake of the Civil War, that is, almost one hundred years before this became a serious problem for a country such as Poland. Nevertheless, even at the present some critics of the existing school programs in the United States complain that the schools are behind the growing needs of industry, that the emphasis is too much on booklearning or upon the development of "pleasant manners" at the expense of shop-oriented skills.[20] Similarly, critics of the existing school system in Poland complain about the inability of graduates of the general educational (academic) secondary schools to "erect a decent, simple pig stall."[21] In Poland the drive to assimilate school youth into the patterns of the economic marketplace takes on the form of patronage links between particular large industrial establishment enterprises, and/or trade unions, and the schools of their area.

Yet, as with the socialization of the youth into a socialist-communist culture, entrenched traditional value patterns and styles clash with attempts of socialization into a technological-industrial culture. Thus, for example, the continued prestige enjoyed by non-technological disciplines, the lack of eagerness among girls to enter technical-vocational schools, or the hesitation of women to give up their traditional roles in the family for industrial jobs, and the already mentioned lack of appreciation for time as a value. The push for the purely vocational aspects of polytechnization, moreover, awakens concern among some humanistically oriented pedagogic theorists and among those outside the school system who feel themselves responsible for maintaining traditional-national values (and who fear what technology may do to these), as well as among those whose primary interest is in emphasizing the ideational-metaphysical aspects of the ideology. Such concerns are further aggravated by the tendency ascribed to bureaucrats to measure the value of investments in education by education's ability to produce quick, visible, and measurable returns -- and obviously in this respect, some fear, vocational and technological training has a larger payoff value in the eyes of governmental administrators and planners than does purely academic schooling or the pursuit of basic science or learning for its own sake.[22] In addition to the divergence as to the means of goal achievement -- assuming even an agreement as to the goals -- a divergence resulting from different functional perspectives, there is a dissimilarity in which politicians, administrators and educators assess the reality around them. Empirical sociological studies dealing with that reality are often viewed with suspicion by the political leadership as products of erroneous (because "academic") perception of that reality, if not as being influenced by bourgeois social science both with regard to methodology and concern. The periodic difficulties experienced by social scientists in Poland led Jan Szczepański to remark that "Every politician is deeply convinced that he has a firm grasp of the reality he is transforming and is not always inclined to agree with the sociologists' explanations."[23]

Much as a consequence of these conditions, discussion on the relationship between the "two cultures" -- i.e., the humanistic on the one hand and the technological-scientific on the other -- which was current in the United States in the early Sixties is presently in vogue throughout East Europe. Underlying such discussions is an attempt to find a synthesis between the presumably different value systems characteristic of each of these cultures. The search for such a synthesis began actually in the United States with John Dewey but in Poland it has become a meaningful issue only recently.[24] The goal of such a synthesis would be to educate future generations of technologues who would also be humanists and ideologues so that members of these generations may indeed assume command of the totality of society, including the economy. In the meantime, on the level of the public school system, the search for a synthesis takes on the form of a dual emphasis on both "moral-political education in the socialist spirit" and training in the "acquisition of skills, practical and productive habits, a polytechnic education."[25]

In pursuit of these goals the Poles keenly feel the lack of what they might consider "good" models to emulate and a great deal of lack of practical educational experience in this area. The Poles have quite consciously it seems rejected the institutional solutions provided by the educational system of the USSR and the German Democratic Republic. That is, while polytechnic education is present throughout the Polish educational system it is not tied into immediate production goals as it appears to be in the two countries mentioned above. To be sure, there is an ongoing concern regarding proper coordination of manpower needs and educational policy but so far it is limited to higher academic and professional training, including teacher education, but has not affected in practice the lower educational levels.[26] Yet, at the same time, there is an awareness of the need to develop in society -- as a general principle -- new habits and new patterns suitable to the changes which have already taken place and to those to come. There is a great deal of concern among Polish planners and administrators, almost a desperate fear lest they fall back in the universal race for technological and industrial development and will thus suffer the fate of the proverbial dodo bird which refused to evolve, to change with the needs of the times and, consequently, can be seen only in museums. In this they are concerned about the future viability of Poland rather than of the specific system within it.

3. Focus: Teachers as Agents of Socialization

In spite of difficulties, related in the main to economic causes and manpower shortage, secondary education has become popularized in Poland, as it has been in the United States for some time now. Increasingly, the level of one's education rather than his "politics" determines one's position in society, especially since the official political style is becoming generally accepted and perceived as the one for years and years to come. Traditionally also the level of one's education was more important in terms of status and prestige than one's income level, and before the Communists' assumption of power approximated only the status derived from a "proper" social background. Unlike the status patterns in bourgeois France, for example, a "proper" social background in Poland was not related necessarily to economics. The pre-war Polish elite was, in fact, recruited in the main from an impoverished gentry whose sons staffed the officers' corps and the professions, and who served as a model to be emulated by the other classes. It was a class which disdained wage earning as "somehow below a man's dignity," "careerism" or even attention to practical affairs. It was a class which persisted in a heroic and romantic past, and whose style of behavior left an imprint on the behavioral style of the current Polish elite as well as the workers and intelligentsia. It was by and large an educated class, and thus in Poland education traditionally served, except in the case of Jews and members of other minorities, as a ticket for entry into a powerful bureaucracy.[27]

Secondary education may be of a general or a vocational character. However, precisely because of the aforementioned dominant gentry tradition it is the former which still provides opportunities for entry not only into academic institutions but also into the more prestigious professions. The selection of candidates into both the academic institutions and the professions begins in reality at the time of graduation from elementary school. Although the teacher is not wholly responsible for the process of selection, the institution of education is so closely knit with the individual's future and career that the teacher, by virtue of being at the core of the educational enterprise, becomes an important object of concern to students, parents, and society in general. Many expectations are associated with the teacher. Conceptions develop as to what kind of person he should be, as to the type of relationships he ought to have with children and their parents; perceptions develop as to the teachers' relationships with the school authorities and his role in the community. He is seen as the carrier of certain values both within the school and outside of it. The school and the teacher are "public property," as it were, and a teacher is, as Willard Waller points out with respect to the American context but applicable no less to Poland, "a paid agent of cultural diffusion, and...the teacher's position in the community is much affected by the fact that he is supposed to represent those idealsfor which the schools serve as repositories."[28] Yet, as in the case of character education guidelines as compared to subject matter curricula, the formal guidelines for teachers in the areas of "professional morality" are less precisely drawn than those concerning his professional duties.[29] "Professional morality" guidelines often are formed on the basis of unstated anticipations, vague notions frequently growing out of conflicting demands made on the school system. However, it is precisely that which is understood as "professional morality" which is instrumental in how the teacher infuses in his students the expected spirit of patriotism, including that of the socialist variety.

Educational literature, both classic as well as modern, in East Europe as elsewhere, assumes that teaching is not merely a job but a lofty calling which should appeal to and attract idealists, missionaries in a sense. The emphasis is on the moral-ideological qualities of the teacher; his subject matter qualifications, his ability to teach whatever substance is required becomes almost relegated to a secondary position, or his abilities to do an adequate job in the subject area are taken for granted.

The educational literature also addresses itself to the various images the community has of the teacher and to the variety of relationships which the teacher forms with his environment. For example, in the matter of teacher-student relationships, Rousseau, Tolstoy, Pastelozzi, Montessori, Key, Dewey, Waller, as well as a good deal of contemporary education literature emanating from East and West, have something to say on this subject. All these writers are concerned with the range of freedom which should be allowed to the pupil, whether he should be instrumental in the choice of methods and content thereby relegating the teacher to the role of advisor or, conversely, whether the teacher should be the master of the situation, regulating the learning speed in fulfillment of a set achievement plan. Modern education literature in Poland (as in the United States) generally advocates the choice of a moderate middle ground in teacher-student relationships, somewhere between "educational absolutism" and laissez-faire, as it were. However, the concept that students, parents, the political authorities, the community-at-large, form on this problem probably has little to do with the theoretical debate. More likely, the debate itself is an outgrowth of existing concerns in society.

Nevertheless, on the basis of the literature one can glean a good deal of what is expected of the teacher and what is considered desirable in teacher behavior. As reflected in the literature, how is the educational socialization agent seen by the Polish system, by the community (including those subject to the socialization attempt, the students), and, lastly, how do the teachers themselves perceive their role?

There seems to be general agreement that the teacher should possess such personal characteristics as intelligence, maturity, a high sense of responsibility, discretion, and loyalty, and that he should be a rather serious person. Since humor may easily be misconstrued as frivolity, lightheadedness, or perhaps even cynicism, it seems to be a luxury which the teacher can afford in only a very moderate amount. There is further agreement on the expectation that the teacher should be good at taking care of the physical well being of the children and the transmission of knowledge, and that he will be expert in his chosen subject matter. The latter is especially expected from secondary school teachers, to a lesser extent from elementary school teachers. He also should be inventive and adaptable, a leader and at the same time loyal and receptive to the signals emanating from the system, especially as these are communicated by superiors; he should be dedicated to his profession and constantly strive to improve his qualifications; his personal free time (including summer vacations) should be utilized for self-improvement or equally important professionally related tasks; it is expected that his very presence will produce cultural advancement in the community; that he is a patriot, loyal to the homeland, and a transmitter of the moral values characteristic of the political system; that he is imbued with the "right spirit" and enthusiastic about whatever he does; that because he is devoted to his profession, enthusiastic, and propelled by the proper spirit, he will treat his work not merely as a job, a "meal ticket," but as a "calling," and therefore, being in the service of a cause, he would feel it unbecoming to bargain for higher wages but instead would be satisfied with whatever the community can afford for his services. This latter expectation is very much in keeping with the Polish gentry tradition which, as indicated before, although impoverished finds discussion of money matters to be "beneath" its dignity and honor.

The above then seem to be *generally* agreed upon expectations as culled from the Polish normative education literature. However, these same expectations may be found in the normative education literature of other political systems as well. What distinguishes the *Polish Communist system* from other (especially, non-Communist) systems is the expectation that the teacher should, for example, consider himself a member of the working class intelligentsia and, as such, feel a sense of solidarity with the working class as a whole. This again is paradoxically not contradictory to the persistant acceptance of gentry prestige models. As Czeslaw Miłosz points out:

> The impoverished gentry left their stamp on all classes; thus the Polish proletariat, not to speak of the intelligentsia, which maintained close ties with the surviving members of the nobility, inherited many of the gentry's characteristics.[30]

What constitutes a departure from the gentry tradition is the further expectation that the teacher in contemporary Poland should strive to develop in his students a respect for work, including manual labor. That this expectation clashes with the aristocratically oriented style of the new political elite (many of whose members are of non-aristocratic origin) and that because of the prevailing prestige models manual work continues to be perceived as inferior to professional or white collar work, is beside the point here. The normative education literature in Poland further expects the teacher to be instrumental in molding the New Man of socialist society and, in order to do so, to constantly work at improving his own ideological-political consciousness; the teacher also should constantly strive to improve the ideological posture of the community; he should be Party-oriented and unwavering in his political views yet, at the same time, he should avoid sensitive questions in the classroom which may create confusion in the minds of the students relative to established authority symbols.[31] The teacher must be a "cultured" person; he should contribute to the eventual secularization of society by implanting in the young generation a materialistic and scientific outlook on the world; he should be an activist, socio-politically involved, and voluntarily assume a leadership position in the community; he should relate well with parents and with others in the mass organizations to which he should belong; he should promote internationalism and especially positive attitudes towards the "socialist family of nations" (and particularly towards the Soviet Union, prior to the Communist takeover traditionally viewed by many as the perpetuator of Russian empirical designs, and thus an historical enemy). The teacher should be anticapitalist but not against any particular capitalist nation as such lest opposition becomes degenerated into chauvinism. He will willingly assume assigned teaching posts wherever most needed. He is expected to participate in the Pedagogic Council of his school while the actual school administration remains in the hands of a principal or director who, in turn, is subordinate to a Department of Culture and Education of the local National Council, which in its own turn is subordinate to the respective culture and education departments of National Councils of higher administrative levels; the principal or director is simultaneously responsible to the Curatoria or local education organs of the central Ministry of Education. These elected and administrative agencies work closely with the parallel existing culture-education committees of the appropriate leading Party organs at each governmental level (that is, gromada, town, powiat, województwo or metropolitan area, national).

Alongside the normative expectations one can also glean from the education-sociological literature how the community supposedly reacts to the teacher in reality -- at least as perceived by the various authors. Thus, for example, in communities removed from large metropolitan centers where the teacher is often one of the very few professionals in the locality, he is looked upon with a mixture of respect and resentment. On the one hand his "learning" is admired but on the other it is considered a manifestation of snobbism. His activism is expected and relied upon but also resented because he is seen as an outsider, frequently as a transient, a meddling agent of big-city based authorities, external to the small community.[32] Because many organizations, external and internal to the community, see him as a natural candidate for their activities, mainly unrelated to teaching, others within the community perceive him as being only too eager to become involved and often consider him to be an imposition. Feelings of resentment are often strengthened by the very fact that changes induced by the school system within the community are not always welcomed or appreciated.[33] At the same time, the teacher's education creates ill feelings among the leaders of the very organizations seeking his involvement and even among his administrative superiors who themselves were chosen on the basis of their organizational abilities and/or loyalties rather than for the level of their education.[34] Religiously oriented elements, especially in rural areas, see in the teacher a challenge to the Church and the parish priest. The teacher's morals, especially in the case of young unmarried females but not infrequently of males as well, are always suspect, especially in small localities.[35] The male teacher generally but especially one living in the big city and employed at the elementary school level, is seen as an occupational-economic failure; the "feminization" of the profession is both the cause and the effect of such attitude. On the other hand, teachers of working class or peasant background are considered to be social climbers, ambitious and career-oriented and as having "deserted" their class (even though they may, in fact, continue to maintain links with their former milieu and admit without hesitation to their former class background) and it is the popular impression that they feel best and most at ease only in the company of other members of the intelligentsia.[36] At the same time, these teachers are also considered to be idealistically naive and the school itself, especially that of elementary level, a semi-charitable institution. The teaching profession generally is seen in Poland as the most convenient, accessible, and most available vehicle for entry into the professions for youth of working class and rural background.

On the basis of the perceptions held by the teachers' immediate superiors, the school authorities, Józef Kozłowski has drawn up a list of negative and positive views on the role of the teacher: the teacher should not

> ...lack in culture or demonstrate an ambivalent ideological and political posture. He should not show a negative attitude towards socialism and the people's authority. He should not be a person without clear perspective or without specific life goals. He should not be ambiguous with regard to the officially proclaimed world outlook nor should he be backward in his own social views, nor religiously devout or intolerant.

On the other hand, the teacher should manifest the following positive characteristics: a teacher should:

> ...be generally cultured and mature, possess a proper ideological and scientific world outlook, display a positive attitude towards prevailing socio-political reality, and deep conviction as to the correctness of the socialist idea. A teacher should be foremost a patriot. He should be ever ready for self-sacrifice and be unselfish. His moral posture should grow out of his inner convictions; he should be honest both in word and deed; his behavior should at all times be in accord with the officially proclaimed slogans and principles. He should possess civil courage and personal dignity. He should be altruistic and at the same time down-to-earth; he should be guided by objectivism.[37]

To boost teacher morale and prestige within the community the Polish government instituted a special Teacher's Day and the title of

Meritorious Teacher of the Polish People's Republic. Teachers are usually recognized on the various occasions when medals and crosses of merit are awarded, and these rewards also serve as bases for additional material benefits to supplement a rather modest income. Also, the Party in certain areas gives out monetary prizes to teacher-activists.[38]

As members of any other occupation or profession teachers, too, develop an image of themselves and of their role in society. In part the teachers' image of themselves reflects what society thinks of them and in part is in response, in the manner of a defense mechanism, to what teachers consider erroneous notions held by others relative to the profession. The teachers' own perception of their profession and their role is further formed as a result of association with other teachers, beginning at teachers' training institutions and continued through work, the union, the club and vacation retreat, and through exposure to the same professional literature. Naturally, such image is also influenced by specific community conditions. In turn, the image gives rise to certain rules of behavior generally acceptable within the profession, do's and don't's, many of them erected as defenses against what is being considered a hostile or, at best, not understanding, environment. These rules although seldomly written are accepted by teachers, it seems, wherever they are working, even in isolated clusters of two or three.

Thus, the teacher in Poland considers himself a victim, a martyr to the cause of cultural diffusion, better than and misunderstood by his community environment. He sees himself as a person in need of cultural and academic opportunities -- much because of the requirement imposed by superiors for professional advancement and in smaller measure because of a natural hunger for these; he views himself as underpaid and is always concerned over problems of proper housing, health, retirement prospects; he is a good family man, attached to his children, and therefore concerned over their education and future career opportunities. He resents administrative-political interference in school matters and feels himself superior intellectually to those who would interfere on the strength of their administrative and political positions. He resents the parents of his students and considers required association with them an imposition on his time. He is extremely concerned with his own status and prestige, both in the community and vis-a-vis other educators. He is resentful of laymen who in private or in public criticize the school and he views such criticism as a threat to his professional status and prestige. Polish teachers even went so far as to adopt resolutions demanding that their union intervene against frequent press criticism of the schools and the profession by what they considered "uninformed laymen."[39] Teachers are sensitive to authority, their own as well as that of others; they are resentful of too many non-school-related impositions on their time; they view themselves as professionals and resent being utilized for other purposes; they see themselves as being moderately idealistic as well as cynical but also loyal towards the group.

On the basis of the literature, teachers want a clearer definition of the yardsticks applied to their professional competence -- they are concerned that although they are pressed into community service and that such service takes them away from school work, the authorities are ambiguous as to which, schoolwork or community service, is evaluated more highly in giving promotions and rewards. Teachers are worried over the gap between educational theories and practice. They wish for a larger measure of teacher solidarity, feeling that they are faced with a "united front," as it were, of the community and the authorities. Moreover, some among them feel that the nonschool-related activities make them objects of controversy in the community, thus affecting their status, while others see in community activity an excuse for poor quality of their work as educators as well as an avenue whereby they may advance on the administrative and political ladder.

Teachers feel that it is improper to openly criticize a colleague or to deliberately seek popularity among students and their parents, or toseek direct personal favors with superiors. They further feel that a teacher should avoid conflict situations or singlehandedly challenging authority. Similarly, they believe that the individual teacher ought to be careful about his classroom conduct less he invite repercussions. A bit of cynicism is often a useful device to compensate for objective conditions inducing timidity and helplessness. If possible, a teacher should avoid a job in the provinces as it may place him in a visible position and because the provinces offer less opportunities for cultural expression and professional advancement, whereas in the big city there is the advantage of "becoming lost" in the multitude. Therefore, an inferior job in a big city in terms of pay, position, or school level (i.e., elementary vs. secondary) is superior to a job in the provinces even at increased remuneration, other material benefits, greater responsibility, and at a higher educational level.

Although less is being said in the available literature in Poland about the perceptions held by students of their teachers one can nevertheless glean from scattered evidence, including literary memoirs, a picture of an educational bureaucrat, seldomly inspiring, who is only concerned about fulfilling the assigned tasks without too much friction or complications. The student seems to perceive his teacher as a sort of mechanic in the school enterprise, a bit timid, generally loyal to the system who, in order to gain favors in the eyes of superiors tends to discriminate in the classroom in favor of students of working class or peasant background or in favor of children whose parents hold high administrative or political posts.[40]

Chapter II

Educating the Teacher

1. The Road on and to a Teacher's Education

The Polish Higher Education Act adopted in 1958 states:

> Universities and professional colleges participate actively in the building of socialism in People's Poland through training and education of the professional intelligentsia cadres, the conduct of scientific research, the development and cultivation of national culture, and collaboration in advance of technical progress.[1]

The stress, as can be seen, is both on ethical-moral, ideological values of the system, as well as on the need to transmit accumulated subject matter knowledge and to keep abreast of new knowledge. The teacher is perceived as an agent of socialization into the values of both cultures, the ethical and the technological-scientific. Desirous of transforming society, however, insecure of their roots within society, the government administration and the Party seem to place greater emphasis on the need for loyalty among teachers rather than on expertise. The latter is either taken for granted or made an issue of generally only if the individual fails in his loyalty, is suspected of possible sliding in the area of loyalty, or if his professional qualifications are of such low caliber that his continuation on a given post may bring considerable harm to the employing organization or the program with which the individual is associated. Ryszard Strzelecki, a member of the Politburo of the Polish Workers' Party has publicly stated that "people should be judged according to class, political and professional criteria" -- in that order.[2]

One's class background cannot be altered. Moreover, as persons of working class or peasant background are successful in entering the professions or become established in high political or administrative posts, their children can no longer be properly considered as being of "desirable" class background. The whole concept of class background -- in terms of desirability or undesirability -- becomes highly ambiguous as the system matures. The criterion of political loyalty becomes then, in fact, the most important one. Political loyalty does not necessarily mean organizational association with the Party but that pattern of behavior which would meet the accepted social requirements and expectations. As Heliodor Muszyński puts it:

> ...It is the conduct of the individual in the light of the established moral requirements of society relative to individual behavior. For an individual to be able to assimilate and recognize the social role expected of him he must have a positive attitude towards the system which sets these expectations... The individual who does not have before him a specific model of moral behavior to emulate cannot very well judge and, subsequently, react to his own deviations from the model, nor is he able to consider his own behavior relative to the system in whose terms models are to be established.[3]

Ideally, the teacher is to serve as such a model of behavior. Yet the teacher himself is a product, in addition to the specific institutions designed for teachers' training, of his home and the larger social environment of which institutions predating the present system are a part.

Training for the teaching profession, as training for other professions and occupations requiring continued education, starts with the elementary school. Thus the school reforms of 1966 have established the seventh grade of elementary school as the first point of selection, at least for those who have not dropped out from the educational process at an earlier stage. The reforms of that year have added an eighth grade to the elementary school structure but only for those students whose grades, economic-social conditions, or other considerations are such that they are destined to enter the lyceums of general education from where, presumably, they may continue on towards a university or other academic education or, if not, terminate their education with a general secondary school diploma (Matura). On the other hand, if a student ceases his elementary schooling with the traditional seventh grade he must either join the labor force or continue his education in a secondary school (lyceum) of specialized or vocational training. It is the lyceum of general education alone which normally would lead one into higher academia. The new system was designed to channel more students than previously into specialized vocational training. As indicated, due to the prevailing social-cultural conditions of Poland, involving still persistent prestige models of the past, many students who could not reach the university level nevertheless opted for the prestigious secondary school of general education which continued the pre-war classical and humanistic gentry tradition of the gimnazjum. Prior to World War II, for example, only graduates of the gimnazjum could qualify for officers' rank in the armed forces and they, in turn, could marry girls at least of similar educational background. Thus many students opted for this type of education although the job market could not absorb the many graduates in possession of a sound humanistic education but lacking in skills needed by an expanding and increasingly technologically oriented economy. Therefore, the reform of 1966 was designed to guide as many as possible to remain in grade school until completion of the seventh grade and to enter upon specialized training afterwards; students destined neither for higher education nor vocational training were to be encouraged to finish at least six elementary school grades designated officially as "incomplete" elementary education -- but due to shortage in manpower, school buildings, and other factors of an economic nature, many rural schools contained six grades only or even less, making them de-facto "incomplete." To remedy the situation, "incomplete" schools were organized into districts attached to at least one "complete" -- an eighth grade or an "intermediate" seventh grade elementary school. However, in many rural areas economic pressures, lack of dormitories and school busses serve to discriminate against youth who are forced by these conditions to terminate their schooling at the "incomplete" elementary level.

The reforms were partially conceived in order to alleviate an acute teacher shortage. Qualifications of teachers underwent scrutiny and many found themselves transferred, together with the eighth grade, from the secondary school level to the lower elementary one. Teachers were told that these transfers would result in more space and generally better working conditions for those retained by the secondary schools of general education.[4] Still, academic year 1966-67 saw 30% student vacancies in the vocational secondary schools while those of general education were, as previously, oversubscribed.

The reforms of 1966 further foresaw the gradual liquidation of special secondary schools for pedagogic training whose graduates, if they did not continue, qualified for teaching on the preschool (kindergarten) level. However, shortage of teaching personnel made the continuation of the pedagogic lycea a necessity. Yet, the pedagogic lycea although presumably preparing their graduates for a profession -- teaching, however elementary the level -- by being classed in the vocational category do not enjoy the prestige accorded the lycea of general education. It is assumed that "brighter" students or students of social status continue at the secondary school of general education. In 1966 only 70% of those enrolled in the pedagogic secondary school completed the four years required there.[5]

Thus the person destined by circumstance or by choice to teach at the elementary and preschool levels is given a taste of failure pretty early in his own educational experience, either as an individual or with respect to the choice of his vocation. Yet, the youth socialization process is to begin precisely at the early formative ages encompassed by the elementary and preschool educational enterprise. As far as the individual candidate for teaching on these levels is concerned, he or his occupational choice is not in accord with the prevailing flow of prestige patterns in society. Consequently, there is a scramble for entry into the secondary schools of general education and those who do not qualify in terms of grades or other considerations frequently attempt resort to extra-legal means in order to gain admittance to the preferred schools. Rumors abound about the use of "pull" (protekeja), involving highly placed politicians, bureaucrats, and even clergy with connections in local school administrations. A provincial school official complained to this author:

> Such rumors hurt the schools and the prestige of teachers. Parents who feel that their children were unjustly not admitted to a given school write letters to the editor and the editors print such letters. The problem is that there are more candidates for secondary education than there are vacancies. Students are required to pass an entrance examination and it is the Examination Commission which decides who is to be admitted and who not. An Examination Commission may consist of a dozen persons and it makes

> its decisions usually in colleagial fashion. Yet, it is true that parents find out who the members of the Commission are and often try to bribe us. I am a member of such a Commission and I know. I was offered chickens, eggs, a few hundred zlotys at times, invitations to parties and so on. Many of those making these offers do not even realize how embarrassing it can be.[6]

It is the residents of rural areas who feel most discriminated against not only with respect to admissions to secondary schools of general education but even relative to entry into vocational secondary school and technikums. Not only do they suffer from lack of educational facilities in the immediate vicinity of their residence but also from lack of contacts and lack of knowledge as to proper procedure, including examination dates, etc. It also appears that many admission officers who interview prospective candidates do not particularly like rural types and discourage sons and daughters of peasants by curt responses -- or perhaps being shy and timid these children of peasants find the bureaucratic manner of busy admission officers rather discouraging. Moreover, students from rural areas fare less well than urban students at the examinations simply because their school preparation is inferior to begin with. Many peasants cannot understand why their children "sparkled" in the village elementary school but then failed to gain admission to the school of higher level in the neighboring town.[7] As a result of these conditions -- e.g., distance of the secondary school from the rural residence, lack of dormitory facilities, the need of the peasant family for additional farm hands, poor education to begin with, lack of incentive and motivation, city-school-oriented examination patterns and administrators -- most of the unskilled labor force in Poland is recruited from the villages. Many among the village youth have not even completed elementary school much less gained admittance to a secondary school. It was estimated that in 1963, for example, 30% of the youth from the State Farms (Państwowe Gospodarstwa Rolnicze, PGR) joined the labor force with only a six year education or even less.[8] Among the rural youth boys, again because of economic considerations, are more apt to accept the vocational school, if they could be admitted, as the best possible alternative available, while girls are more likely to aspire to the general education lyceum. However, as indicated, there is a gap between what a youngster aspires to in terms of education and what he realistically can hope to attain. A survey conducted among the youth of 133 State Farms in eleven counties as well as among sons and daughters of individual (private) farmers in nineteen counties of the Kielee wojewodztwo indicates that the chances of a peasant child fulfilling his ambitions for further education are more likely to be frustrated than not, regardless of the type of post-elementary school aspired to. Ironically, only those students of peasant background who do not desire to continue any education past the elementary level stand the best chance of having their "goal" achieved -- e.g., in the sample of 5,576 peasant students 29% did not intend to continue past their basic education but 39% actually could not continue, whereas though 34% dreamt of going on to a general education lyceum or some other non-agricultural secondary school only 24% could "make it."[9]

Consequently, the youngster, especially of rural background, who could go on to pedagogic lycea (not to speak of a lyceum of general education) with the intention of eventually joining the teaching profession may indeed consider himself fortunate -- although the teachers' training institutions of nonuniversity level may be looked upon as inferior in terms of status and prestige by the more gifted or merely more sophisticated students from the urban centers.

Thus, although the number of students of working class and peasant origins continuing their education past the secondary school level has increased as compared with the pre-war period, the bulk of the student body in institutions of higher education, especially those of social prestige, continues to consist of sons and daughters of the intelligentsia, the bulk of which, in its turn, is descendent of the pre-war dominant impoverished gentry. At the universities, the institutions of highest prestige, the socio-economic class backgrounds of the student body during academic year 1965-66 was as follows:

Table I

Class Background of University Students in Poland, 1965-66*

Class Background	No.	Percent
Working Class	10,470	26.1
Peasantry	5,631	14.1
Intelligentsia	21,347	53.3
Other	578	1.4
Total	40,054	100.0

*Source: Główny Urząd Statystyczny. Rocznik Statystyczny Szkolnictwa: 1944/45-1966/67 (Warsaw: 1967), p. 434.

As far as institutions designed for teachers' training specifically are concerned, the representation of the traditionally "lower" socio-economic classes increases as one moves down on the scale of prestige and level of the educational facility. However, in the Higher Pedagogical Schools, equivalent to Schools of Education of university level in the United States, youth of intelligentsia background -- children of the urban middle class -- still predominates although the percentage of workers and peasants is already increased over that prevailing at the humanistically and scientifically oriented university departments (see Table II).

Table II

Class Background of Students at Higher Pedagogical Schools, Equivalent to Schools of Education of University Level in the United States, Academic Year 1965-66*

Class Background	No.	Percent
Working Class	2,575	35.6
Peasantry	1,512	20.9
Intelligentsia	2,784	38.5
Self-employed Artisans	309	4.3
Other	55	0.7
Total	7,235	100.0

*Source: Główny Urząd Statystyczny. Rocznik Statystyczny Szkolnictwa: 1944/45-1966/67 (Warsaw: 1967), p. 435.

Similarly, in other university level professional schools of traditional social status (e.g., medical, art, etc.), youth of intelligentsia background predominates. In the medical academies 55.9% of the students in 1965-66 were of intelligentsia background while only 14.4% were of peasant background (and 23.7% of working class origin); in the higher art institutions 65.5% were of intelligentsia background as compared to 7.6% from the peasantry and 20.9% from the working class. It is only in the theological academies that youth of peasant and working class origin overshadows youth of intelligentsia background (e.g., 45.6% of peasant origin; 27.8 of working class origin; 20.1% of intelligentsia background).[10] Although middle class in terms of income, status, and perhaps even outlook, the intelligentsia is described in ideological terms as a "working class intelligentsia." In terms of the ideology the working class intelligentsia is considered the real carrier of proletarian consciousness since their road to the revolutionary movement leads through the dialectic of ideas rather than, as in the case of the proletariat, in response to existential conditions of pre-socialist society.[11] Nevertheless, in terms of the same ideology it is the working class first and, secondarily, an "emancipated" peasantry, which serves as the backbone of the new social order. It is the working class which is supposed to be the most "forwardlooking" segment of society and, presumably, efforts are being made to accord this class a favored position and to facilitate the advancement of children of this class. The predominance of children of working class and peasant background in theological seminaries and academies would indicate, therefore, that a new socialist-oriented consciousness has not yet fully sifted down to the level of these classes but that, indeed, the institution representing a competing social system -- the Church -- has still a foothold among the broad masses.

Once past secondary school, of whatever type, the scramble for entry into institutions of higher education or, alternately, into choice employment on the job market, is repeated once more. Graduates of secondary schools of general education may not learn until October whether or not they would be accepted into the institution of higher learning to which they have applied. Generally, every third candidate's application is approved. The ratio of acceptance is less favorable for those seeking admittance to the most prestigious universities of the land, those of Warsaw and Cracow. Only every fifth applicant to the School of Pedagogy of Warsaw University may expect a favorable ruling on his application.[12] About 40,000 secondary school graduate-applicants are annually left on the sidelines, as it were. Graduates subsequently turn to admission officers of the higher institutions of their second choice or to institutions of higher learning regardless of type or specialization. But even these cannot admit all comers. The initial vacancies are promptly filled among those who pass their examinations administered in June, for entry into institutions of higher learning. If, per chance, any vacancies for the freshman year are left after the first round, a secondary school graduate seeking admission may have another chance in August when a second round of examinations is administered. On the bottom of the post-secondary school educational ladder are the Studium Nauczycielskie (Teachers' Studium or Seminary) whose students are trained for elementary school teaching.

Some of those unsuccessful in entering any institution of higher learning decide to wait out a year and apply once more in the coming fall. However, their chances to be accepted then are even further decreased since one year hence they must compete, not only with the "left-overs" of the past year but with those freshly emerging from the secondary schools. Others never try again but settle, often without skills, on the job market. The latter is true especially for women who were unsuccessful in their first attempt to gain admission to an institution of post-secondary school education, although work experience counts as credit in acceptance to higher technical schools and academies, especially those related to the applicant's employment. But not too many take advantage of these opportunities, the second chance, as it were, in the main due to inertia and reasons of economy. Some -- but not too many -- avail themselves of Occupational Preparatory Courses conducted after normal working hours by the regular school kuratoria in conjunction with local Employment Centers.

As in most other societies there is in Poland a type of youth which seems to survive and even prosper without either job or student status. Some are only pro forma attached to some institution of higher learning. These usually are sons of influential officials and managers and, in popular parlance, are referred to as the "banana youth" since bananas which they presumably can afford are so expensive in Poland, when available. These are the same types which prior to World War II were tagged in Poland as the "golden youth." Popular talk has it that they frequent the night clubs designed for foreigners or a special domestic clientele, drive around in automobiles officially assigned to their fathers, and when in trouble are promptly bailed out by their influential parents. The vast majority of secondary school graduates who did not gain admission to an institution of higher learning is, however, less "fortunate." As in the case of unsuccessful normal admission to the secondary school of first choice, some attempt to gain admission to institutes of higher learning by irregular means, including bribery. The Warsaw Polityka, for example, carried the following item:

> The mother of Piotr K. who is trying for admission to the Higher School of Engineering in Lublin, paid a visit to the dean of that school in his apartment. He is in charge of the examination commission. Piotr's mother brought the dean a flower basket. The scientist was attracted by the particular beauty of the flowers. As it turned out some of the flowers were made of 500 zloty notes. The dean picked a total of 10,000 zlotys. Piotr's mother will have to account for her actions in court.[13]

Officials and teachers of both secondary and higher education often find it painful to ward off various overtures and pressures to admit certain individuals who either did not pass the required examinations or passed these less favorably than their competitors for the limited vacancies. It is especially awkward when such pressures and overtures come from highly placed persons, particularly in small or medium-sized localities. Future repercussions may be in store for the "uncooperative" official or teacher. Formally, members of the examination committees are required to report each call for special favors and to enter it in a special notebook. Although the examinations are administered in an impersonal manner and officially the name of the student being tested remains anonymous, the entire atmosphere surrounding the procedure seems rather unhealthy and wrought with anxiety both for the examinees and their families as well as for the examinors. Too much is at stake.[14]

In a limited way the Ministry of Education maintains psychological-occupational counseling centers (in 1963 there were 20 such centers in wojewodztwo cities, 8 in powiat-county cities, as well as 72 centers of limited consultation capacity in other powiat-county seats). These however are designed for graduates of basic vocational schools (of elementary school level) seeking higher educational opportunities in their vocational specialization or assignment to specialized job training. The graduate of the secondary school, the matura holder, without admission to an institution of higher learning or without a job is pretty much left on his own.

Once admitted the question of material support while in school arises. Although education of all levels is formally free of charge there still remains the matter, often difficult to solve, of maintaining some adequate measure of subsistence while in training. Unions and economic enterprises either award assistance stipends or scholarships, usually to children of members or employees in the particular enterprise, or to students studying for future careers in a given branch of the economy. The future teacher has fewer opportunities of receiving the latter type of assistance; instead, if unable to support himself while in school, he has to rely on state or community aid, or on the assistance of some political, civic, or professional organization. Thus, for example, the Polish Writers' Union awards stipends in the memory of two authors of Polish classical literature of peasant or impoverished gentry background, Bolesław Prus and Eliza Orzeszkowa, to students in secondary vocational schools of non-technical, non-industrial specialization, including pedagogy, arts and crafts, librarianship, printing, and the like. In the area of stipends and fellowships youth of workers' and peasant background are clearly favored over youth of intelligentsia and middle class families. Thus the aforementioned Writers' Union stipends are designed to help rural youth who have gained admission to secondary schools specializing in the above areas. In other words, the student of rural or working class background once he has overcome the various odds -- especially difficult in the case of the rural youth -- and has gained admission to a secondary or higher educational institution stands a better chance of obtaining financial support during his school life than the youth of intelligentsia background which finds admission itself easier to come by.

Families whose children, up to age 20, attend secondary schools (lycea and technikums) of vocational or artistic character, teaching included, are entitled to special allowances, by order of the Chairman of the State Committee for Work and Wages.[15] Moreover, students in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning could, if they must or wish to, support themselves through outside, non-school related employment. However, in order to maintain legal student status at least eighteen hours a week must be devoted to one's studies, when school is in session. The hours of allowable non-school employment varies with the ages of the students concerned: those between 14 and 16 years of age are permitted a maximum of eighteen hours a week of non-school-related work (that is, eighteen hours of school work and eighteen hours maximum of non-school-related work) and those over 16 years of age are allowed to work as many hours as is customary for the particular enterprise as long as they are given at least eighteen hours off for the legal minimum of eighteen hours a week for studies.[16]

Students of institutions of higher learning are normally not entitled to a family allowance which, in any event, ends when the student has attained age twenty. Consequently, in addition to the possibility (not always desirable from the student's point of view) of resorting to a combination of work and study, the student of post-secondary school level could vie or apply for one of the various assistantships and fellowships available. These vary in type, size, and monetary value as well as to their requirements. Usually they are administered by the institutions of higher learning themselves or related organs and the applicant's political loyalty, civic activity, academic standing and need are taken into consideration, with greater stress placed on the first three factors, and especially since the student riots of early Spring, 1968, on the first two of these. During the third year of professional/occupational training students in institutions of higher learning whose fields of study are directly related to the economic sector in acute need of qualified personnel can "contract" themselves to a future employing enterprise. In effect, the student starts to receive some salary while still in school on the premise that after graduation he will work for the particular enterprise for a minimum of three years. Usually such assistance, monetary in nature, is about 20 percent higher than what is normally available and if it involves competition among students (as in the case of future contracts with "prestigious" enterprises or enterprises in attractive localities) it may be as much as 30 percent higher than the normal assistantship. The normal assistantship available to a student, regardless of field of study, is also monetary in nature but may vary with the area of specialization (with students of mathematics or the physical sciences receiving slightly more than others) and may be given in full or in part. During academic year 1962-63 the full stipend ranged normally between 450-550 zlotys per month, depending upon year of study, and a partial stipend amounted normally to 300 zlotys per month -- in neither case, but especially for the receiver of the partial stipend, too extravagant a sum. Majors in the physical sciences may forego the ordinary assistantships and compete for higher monetary awards (which in 1962-63 were in the amount of 1,000 zlotys per month).

Students not qualifying for either of the above have few other options. There are modest monetary grants for first year students, available only for one semester; there are loans to be repaid after graduation; there are also non-monetary grants such as free housing in student dormitories or either free or reduced cost meals in student cafeterias. In monetary terms the latter vary in size from as little as 100 zlotys to as much as 656 zlotys. In addition to monetary assistance, students may also apply for non-monetary aid but they cannot at the same time obtain financial (monetary) assistantship from another source. Only superior and exceptional students can be awarded prizes, regardless of the type of assistance received, if any, and these prizes usually carry a monetary value with them -- somewhere from 500 to 1,000 zlotys.

Students engaged in writing a dissertation (in the field where these are required) are entitled to a stipend for a period of eighteen months or, if employed, to one year leave of absence with pay. As mentioned, the various assistantships, scholarships, grants, and prizes are administered and regulated by the educational institutions themselves on the basis of set criteria. If a recipient fails to meet any of the criteria (including that of maintaining a proper "moral and citizenship posture") he may be deprived of all assistance at any time and without appeal.[17] After the aforementioned student riots of March-April, 1968, many students suspected of participating in the disturbances were denied their assistantships quite arbitrarily.

Especially as far as the future teacher is concerned, if not of working class or peasant origin, if not particularly politically active and of average academic standing, his chances of obtaining an assistantship (much less a prize) are less than if he were of a background officially favored in the process of assistantship distribution or if he were able (or willing) to pursue training in mathematics or in any of the physical or technical sciences. As indicated, the enrollment flow is towards the fields of traditional prestige (e.g., art, humanities, law, medicine, social science) but with respect to material assistance students in the more industry-related fields receive preferential treatment, much because the system is under pressure to meet the needs of the economy, especially in the realm of technologically sophisticated and skilled manpower. The institutions of teachers' training, however, do not enjoy the prestige of the former nor the attention of the latter, although much is being said about the "honored" position of the teacher in society and about the need for more personnel in the field of education. It is quite likely that the bright student of intelligentsia background would not choose elementary or secondary school teaching as a career to begin with but rather either a field of traditional prestige or, conversely, an area of professional activity which holds the promise of future economic pay-off. Teachers' education is simply neither here nor there and the student launched upon a career of teaching has all the evidence that the system can provide (beginning with the status of his school and the availability and size of his assistantship) that his position is indeed marginal both in terms of social status and in terms of financial compensation.

On the secondary school level the major problem, especially for students from rural or smaller localities which do not have their own secondary schools of differing type, is that of dormitories (internats) for those living away from home. These dormitories provide both food and lodging. Although dormitory space is formally allocated by a special school commission, the school director as ex-officio member of the commission is in actual charge of the allocation process and, consequently, many of the complaints about irregularities in the allocation process concern individual arbitrariness, favoritism, highhandedness. The problem is aggravated by the fact that student enrollment and needs by far exceed available dormitory vacancies. Thus, even if a student from a rural area or small town is admitted, he still may not be assured of attendance if he cannot secure appropriate accommodations for himself.

The Ministry of Education is officially responsible for the dormitories and for space assignment. This authority, as mentioned, is officially delegated to commissions on stipends for lycea of general education and teachers' training. In vocational schools of secondary level (other than teachers' training) the delegated authority rests with a Stipend Council. Yet, as indicated, because of the further de-facto delegation of actual allocations to the school administration the most frequent complaint is that space more often than not is assigned to youth of relatively wealthy background or to children whose parents are socially or politically well connected.[18] And again, as in other areas of distribution of material privileges, preferential treatment is to be accorded, officially, to children of working class or peasant background. If the school administration adheres scrupulously to the criteria of social class this works against many, especially those whose parents' occupation is in a marginal class category. For example, a son or daughter of a modestly paid village school nurse will have low priority in dormitory space allocation because the nursing profession as part of the general medical profession belongs to the "intelligentsia." This, despite the fact that the nurse in question is a member of the school system and is employed in a rural area far removed from the secondary school site to which her child was accepted. At the same time a son or daughter of an independent (private) and wealthy peasant will be assured dormitory assignment. Thus, even where private bias or preference on the part of the individual school administrator plays no role the ruling in favor of certain social class background -- regardless of actual economic position of the particular applicant -- may work havoc with the chances of some students of poor background for continued education. In addition to socio-economic class background other criteria are grade point average, diligence and "proper conduct," which includes proper civic and political attitude of both the student and his parents.

Even after admission to secondary school and even after having secured a space in a dormitory, however, these are not to be taken for granted. As in the case of the assistantship for students of institutions of higher learning, these privileges can be arbitrarily taken away from the secondary school student if at any time during the school year he does not quite meet any of the criteria and expectations, especially those concerning adequate grade level and proper behavior. In the matter of maintaining grades, if the student receives one or two unsatisfactory grades in any school term he is given formal warning that he may be deprived of residency; if his record shows more than two unsatisfactory grades in any one term, he is removed without warning. In the event of unsatisfactory behavior removal is immediate and usually without appeal. Shortage in dormitory space and long waiting lists abet arbitrary procedure of this kind. Similarly, if a student must "make up" a certain grade -- if the repetition is not due to confirmed illness and forced absence during the original year in given grade -- exclusion from the dormitory is automatic. Such conditions lead Janina Borowska to comment:

> It is common knowledge that criteria for poor marks, especially in the area of student behavior, are very subjectively conceived and often based upon minor infractions. Teachers and educators, adherents of strongarm policies and weak in their pedagogic knowledge, would rather apply administrative means than any other in dealing with students and in trying to influence their behavior, although the educational impact on a student arbitrarily removed from an internat in such manner is rather negative.[19]

Thus on the one hand, although officially the student of peasant background is favored, the system on the other hand may ultimately work against his continuation in school -- once admitted and housed -- because (a) his previous educational experience in a rural school does not adequately prepare him for competition in grades with graduates of better endowed urban elementary schools, and (b) the process of adjustment to a new urban environment, home sickness, the style and bearing which may mark him as a ruralite and expose him to the taunts of more sophisticated urban colleagues, and may tend to make him a "behavioral problem."

In fact, rural youth in an urban school may find it difficult not only to adjust and become "urbanized," but also to overcome initial antipathy on the part of their educators and school administrators as well as the mockery of their urban colleagues. Krzystztof Przeclawki cites the following observations of the behavior of village girls made by their instructors in a post-secondary school for nurses' training during academic years 1963-64 and 1964-65:

> ...during the first phase of residence at school the girls from the village differ markedly from the girls brought up in the city. The differences are foremost with respect to external appearance: the village girls care little for their appearance, they dress modestly and in old-fashioned clothing, do not care for their hair, their coiffeur is rather modest, hair straight and long. They use no make up...
>
> The differences are also marked with regard to their respective life styles. The girls often do not know how to use knife and fork, do not know how to use the available sanitary facilities or electricity. They are quiet, timid, shy. They give the appearance of being tired by the noise and fast moving events. They keep to themselves, apart from other students...
>
> They do not know how to express themselves properly. They manifest little initiative and little self-assurance, ...
>
> In class, during the lecture, they give the impression of being asleep; do not participate with any degree of enthusiasm in the discussions or exercises. They have great voids in their store of knowledge resultant from the poor preparation they have received in the secondary school which they have completed. They are not very quick nor sharp. They are, however, very ambitious and industrious. They learn with diligence, accept and complete willingly and maticulously all the assignments. They read the professional literature avidly. They are very sensitive...20

The village girls further were modest in their culinary expectations, went to bed in their underwear, and took little part in extra-curricular activities or in the social life of the student body. They spoke a dialect, avoided movies and were unfamiliar with modern equipment during physical education classes. Their most favorite pasttime was to rest in bed and listen to a record player and, only after a while, to venture out in groups into the city neighborhood to gaze at the storefronts. By contrast, the city-bred nursing students dressed fashionably, dyed their hair, followed the latest trends in coiffeur, were psychologically mature and adjusted, quick-witted, observant, active, bold, less hardworking than the village girls, loud and noisy, self-assured, they read current bestsellers, and treated the village girls with an air of superiority.[21]

Now these student nurses were already graduates of a secondary vocational school and thus were already removed from their original village by a few years. Their secondary school experience was probably in a small county town, big enough to experience certain anti-peasant biases but not big or urban enough to induce shock and change. They were girls determined to get the most out of their educational experience, practical, and generally compliant. The teachers interviewed by Przecławski found them less "troublesome" as a rule than the city girls who came into frequent conflict with the school authorities, were unsystematic in their work and study habits, played "hookie" from school but were somehow able to secure certificates from private doctors or parents excusing their absences, and when in difficulties with teachers or administrators could almost always rely on their parents to come to their defense. City girls were less willing than the village girls to submit to official rules. In time the rural girls manage to "catch up."[22]

Village boys initially may find it harder to adjust even in the less urbanized atmosphere of their secondary school experience. Nevertheless, while on the one hand the odds are stacked, as it were, against youth of peasant background, efforts are made, on the other, to encourage and assist rural youth on the road towards higher education. The difficulty is that much of the encouragement remains on the official level while the realities of policy application are somewhat different. Moreover, the authorities are faced with a number of cumbersome questions:

1. Since class background refers to social status of parents or to the occupation held by the father, how should one consider the class background of sons and daughters of holders of higher degrees who graduated in the Forties and Fifties and who, although now professionals, were themselves sons and daughters of the working class or the peasantry? Their children -- by now children of the intelligentsia -- will be clamoring soon at the portals of higher education;

2. Are the children of working class or peasant background very much different -- in terms of parents' income, psychologically, sociologically, intellectually, or in terms of political loyalty -- from the children of other backgrounds?

If the system is to continue favoring -- despite the objective odds -- children of working class and peasant background because of an ideological commitment to remedy the historical wrongs committed against those classes by previous systems then, with time, one's background would have to be determined by the occupation and social status of grandparents, and would this not be reminiscent somewhat of the tracing of pure racial bloodlines practiced among adherents of other and opposing ideologies? In Poland as in other East European countries the wage structure is such as to bring about a leveling of incomes, an equalization of wages regardless of social prestige and regardless of time and effort invested in obtaining necessary training for a given profession or occupation. If anything, it is the independent artisan, or the independent farmer-peasant, or the medical practitioner who is engaged in private practice in addition to his required public health service, who is high on the income scale and is capable of greater earnings and, consequently, of purchasing automobiles or other expensive consumer items much more so than, for example, a member of the Cabinet of Ministers, highly placed government officials, and the like. Only a few professors of the universities, who also are associated with the Academy of Sciences, research institutes, who publish frequently, travel abroad on foreign fellowships, etc., who by obtaining incomes from all these diverse sources, can approximate the income of an independent entrepreneur or of a farmer engaged in hothouse cultivation of flowers or produce for export. The measure of class is not then in terms of income but in terms of traditional style and traditional perceptions as to what these styles and outlooks are. Is the system more comfortable with the style and the culture traditionally ascribed to the working class and peasantry than with that of the impoverished gentry and its descendents among the urban intelligentsia? Czesław Miłosz, himself a son of the impoverished nobility, comments:

> ...when I was working for the "People's Democracy," my origins caused me no trouble at all. On the contrary, my superiors viewed them very favorably, and in this showed great acumen. The real demons for them were the defenders of private initiative, the entrepreneurs, whether in trade, industry, or agriculture. ...On this point, they and I were in perfect accord -- an accord that went deeper than any rationale, growing as it did out of an inborn aversion to counting, measuring, and weighing, activities that symbolized the unclean. There is really nothing more anti-bourgeois than certain segments of the intelligentsia who are defenseless when it comes to money. They retain a medieval disgust for usury because private capitalism never rubbed off on them. My superiors, not necessarily realizing it, pro-

> fessed an ideology strongly marked by the atavistic resentments of impoverished noblemen, ... So a well-trodden path lay open, making it easy for the intelligentsia to become a partner of the "apparatus." Emotionally I did not condemn the destruction of private shops and farms (this does not mean that I always approved of it intellectually); it even gave me a sadistic pleasure...
>
> ...A society that clearly distinguishes an individual's social status from the amount of money he is worth -- i.e., when the one does not determine the other -- is applying a scale of values that is, in one sense or another, aristocratic.[23]

Yet, when the students in Poland rioted in Spring, 1968, the intelligentsia as a whole was condemned for "alienation," "cosmopolitanism," "lack of loyalty and patriotism," and new stress was given to working class and peasant background as desirable attributes, especially with respect to preferential treatment in admission to institutions of higher learning. It is quite possible that the political elite does not feel "at home" with the cultural style of the intelligentsia, not even with those among the intelligentsia who are themselves a part of that elite; those in the political elite of workers' and peasant background or even of middle-class, petty-bourgeois background while they may appreciate the intelligentsia's emotional attachment to the revolution may also be suspicious of the intelligentsia's ability to rationalize, to intellectualize an opposition to the very same measures, as Miłosz points out, of which it emotionally approves. The intelligentsia is educated, well-traveled, well read, its members speak foreign languages and maintain contacts with friends and exiles abroad; the working class or peasant class member who has entered the elite is more restricted in his interests, more parochial, more provincial, more "Polish," and also more grateful since it is the system that has afforded him opportunity for advancement into a position of higher social status.

Yet, when it comes to passing entry examinations into institutions of higher learning, youth of intelligentsia background continue to perform much better than those of working class or peasant background and, what is surprising, the latter (those of peasant background) perform better than the former (of working class background).[24] At this point, that is, at the point of entry into institutions of higher learning, the youth of peasant background has already passed through the semi-urbanizing experience of the secondary school and, unlike the urban youth of working class background who may tend to take things easy and for granted as in the case of the student nurses, is diligent, serious, hardworking, and determined to make good and get ahead. However, Konstanty Grzybowski in questioning the above findings made in an analysis by the Ministry of Higher Education (Appraisal of Level of Preparation of Youth for Higher Education) of the results of entry examinations to institutions of higher learning (during 1964), maintains, on the basis of his own observations, that rather than class background the real "culprit" is the quality of the secondary school with rural and small town secondary schools being inferior to those of the big city.[25] How would this then explain the poor performance of youth of working class background? Grzybowski maintains that the poorest performers are children of working class background who have attended a small town secondary school -- that is, a school also attended by peasant youth but in which the latter academically are able to out-distance the former. But in addition there is some evidence, although not conclusive, that secondary schools in workingclass big city neighborhoods or schools, especially secondary vocational schools, which are designed to attract primarily a workingclass clientele are generally qualitatively inferior to the lycea of general education located in intelligentsia neighborhoods.

In any event, in a society in which higher education is a means for social advancement and in which a degree is a symbol of status very much as the traditional aristocratic title, there are more candidates for admission than the system is actually able to absorb. And the pressure for admission is the highest in those institutions whose fields of specialization offer the graduate the highest social status and prestige although not necessarily the promise of equivalent income. Thus, for example, for academic year 1966-67, 3,000 candidates vied for the 700 vacancies in the higher institutions preparing cadres for the dramatic arts; 1,300 hopefuls took examinations to fill the 272 vacancies in the higher institutions for fine arts; 700 graduates of secondary schools attempted to gain admission to schools of music but only half of them passed the entrance examinations. That the values of a new industrial-technological culture, fostered by the authorities of the system and widely propagated, have as yet not taken root in the popular consciousness but that, instead, the older, traditional, and humanistically oriented values still prevail in the popular consciousness, is further evidenced by the fact that while the above mentioned schools (of art, fine art, music) could not accommodate all comers, the institutions specializing in the physical or technical sciences (whose students are also entitled to higher stipends) or similarly related specialized departments of other institutions had unfilled vacancies in mid-summer, 1966. Moreover, great numbers of student-candidates for higher education failed in the examinations in the sciences and in mathematics and thus failed to gain entrance even to Higher Schools for Physical Education. For example, 50 percent of the students taking the entrance examinations to the Higher School for Physical Education in Katowice did not pass the mathematical tests required, and 60 percent failed in chemistry. As a result, the departments in the above disciplines as well as the departments of physics and technology education of that school announced their openings and continued acceptance of admission applications.[26] Similarly, even the educational-pedagogic institutions, although lower in prestige and status than other institutions of similar level, found their vacancies promptly filled -- with the *notable exceptions of those departments training future secondary school teachers in such specialties as mathematics, physics and mechanical-technical education*. As in the case of the similar departments of the Higher School for Physical Education in Katowice, the Higher Pedagogic establishments of Gdańsk and Katowice also announced still existing vacancies in the above departments by mid-summer, 1966.[27] Thus, if institutions of higher learning find themselves with vacancies at the beginning of an academic year it is not due to lack of candidates but rather the result of poor showing at entrance examinations on the part of applicants. Those in charge of higher education are rather unwilling to lower admission standards but if such lowering should occur it is most likely to take place on a selective basis: in schools of lower status and for candidates of working class or peasant background or for candidates who despite "connections" of one sort or another were still unable by the end of July (when examinations for higher education take place) to secure admission in the normal process. Generally also the *poorest performance in the entrance examinations was among the candidates to the higher pedagogic institutions*, recruited from among the graduates of the educational *lycea* or from among the weakest segments of the graduates of the secondary schools of general education. They came poorly prepared especially in such subjects as mathematics and the sciences, including physics, but they had no trouble generally in passing the required tests in the humanities (history, literature, ideologically oriented subjects).[28]

The system hopes to involve the masses in the process of building the new order. The hope is often expressed that mass culture, including mass education (with its network of evening schools for adults and secondary schools of one type or another), will forge among the citizens a loyalty to the system, an appreciation for the opportunities and cultural-educational horizons beyond reach to many before World War II. Secondary education, especially that of a vocational nature, has become at least attainable and even higher education has reached sectors of the population previously excluded from tasting its fruits, except in the case of exceptional individuals of workingclass or peasant background or from among the ethnic-national minorities who achieved a higher academic degree at great sacrifice and after having overcome great administrative obstacles. Nevertheless, quality education, especially in the humanities and social sciences or in the professions enjoying high social status, is still elusive, particularly to children of traditionally lower background. Yet the social (but not necessarily the economic and political hierarchy) corresponds closely to the educational hierarchy and one's prestige is linked to his level of education. Educational titles and, to a lesser extent, administrative titles have replaced the titles designating noble origin but, as titles, they command the traditional homage accorded the title and the titled person in that particular culture. The mechanical engineer with a corresponding diploma has his credentials listed proudly in the telephone book; the professor who also holds a doctorate degree lists both and is addressed as "Mr. Doctor Professor," and some of his prestige is transferred to his spouse who, in turn, is referred to by the house superintendent, by the grocer, the attendant in the beauty salon, as "Mrs. Professor." The lawyer is "Mr. *Advocat*," the government counsel is "*Panie Radco*," and, if the waiter in a high-class restaurant does not know the name of his high spending customer but wants to please him (in the hope of a substantial tip) he will guess or invent a title for the patron, at least "*Panie Direktorze*, Mr. Director," or "*Panie Prezesie*, Mr. Chairman." The wife of the "director" or "chairman" becomes a "Mrs. Director" or "Mrs. Chairman." However, *titles earned* in the process of education command higher popular respect than administratively or organizationally bestowed designations. Consequently, education is recognized as a means of legitimate social advancement and, as a result, each vacancy in an institution of higher learning has from four to ten candidates hoping to fill it although many of those waiting in line lack the necessary entrance qualifications. One of the major reasons why the social status ladder does not necessarily correspond to the income ladder is simply that money cannot buy much on a limited consumer market. While a reservoir of cash may enable one to buy an apartment in a cooperative housing unit, the educated, well-connected person will be assigned an apartment which is equally as good for relatively little rental. Thus, although the education leading to a vocational diploma requires the input of at least six years less than that of a higher academic degree and although the latter will result in better remuneration on the labor market than the former, many -- if only given the chance -- would rather take a crack at the more prestigious professions and the schools leading to these. As indicated at the beginning of this chapter the selection begins pretty early, prior to graduation from elementary school, when the choice is: work, vocational lyceum or technikum, or a secondary school of general education. It is the latter which leads to the university and it is there, in the secondary school of general education, where those of present or future high social status are to be found, and it is here that the social background distribution of the students does not correspond to the present class distribution of Polish society thus, in effect, tending to retard the officially proclaimed aim of class equalization (see Table III).

Table III

Socio-Economic Class Background of Students in Lycea of General Education in Poland, 1964-65

Class Background	No. of Students	Percent
Intelligentsia	174,555	43.1
Working class	106,515	26.3
Peasantry	74,115	18.3
Other Agricultural Workers (Agronomers, etc.)	4,455	1.1
Independent Artisans/Craftsmen	28,350	7.0
Other	17,010	4.2
Total	405,000	100.0

Source: Główny Urząd Statystyczny (GUS), Statystyka Szkolnictwa: Szkolnictwo Ogólnokształcace: Opieka nad dziecmi i młodziezą, 1964/65 i 1965/66. (Warsaw), No. 4.

In the secondary schools (*lycea*) of general education in such large urban centers as Warsaw, Cracow, Poznań, and Wrocław youth of intelligentsia background dominate by far: they constitute 72.2 percent of that school population in Warsaw, 61.6 percent in Cracow, 60.5 percent in Poznań and 58.2 percent in Wrocław. Children of peasant background, while still in a minority, represent larger numbers only in the *lycea* of general education located in the *cities and towns of the following predominantly agricultural districts* (*wojewodztwos*): Lublin (45.1 percent of the population of the secondary schools of general education); Rzeszów (31.3 percent); Kielce (33.1 percent); Białystok (40.1 percent). Similarly, youth of working class background, again while constituting a minority, form a substantial part of the population of the secondary schools of general education *only in the predominantly industrial cities and regions with major working class populations*, such as the *City of Łodz* (known as the Polish Manchester) -- 42.7 percent of the enrollment in *lycea* of general education -- and the District (*Województwo*) of Katowice (major coal mining center) -- 40.5 percent. Thus, although the representation of youth of peasant or working class background may vary with the character of the locale, *intelligentsia youth is everywhere overrepresented* in terms of the actual size of that group within Polish society. That is, the number of intelligentsia children in the prestigious secondary schools of general education -- the crucial avenue to social status and to the professions -- is disproportionately higher than the size of that class within the general Polish population while the number of children of peasant or working class background is disproportionately lower than that of their respective social classes within society. Despite the officially proclaimed policy of preferential treatment for children of workingclass background the number of youth of workingclass. background in secondary schools of general education has actually declined somewhat over the years; on the other hand, peasant children although facing even greater obstacles are apparently more determined to utilize whatever opportunities are available to them and their overall representation in these lycea has increased (very) slightly (from 45.8 percent during 1963-64 to 47.0 percent in 1964-65). As indicated, the difficulties begin with the unequal quality of the pre-secondary school education available to the various classes and, consequently, with the gap in their respective levels of preparation for the entrance examinations.

While it may be true, as Konstanty Grzybowski maintains, that the decline of workingclass youth and the unequal representation of peasant youth among the ranks of the future intelligentsia and professional cadres does not testify one way or another of the readiness of these classes as a whole to participate in mass culture and to enjoy what that culture has to offer,[29] it nevertheless affects the social status and prestige rankings within society which remain traditional -- i.e., geared towards the degree and diploma holder. As Czesław Miłosz points out:

> ...for the East European the drive to gain recognition in the sphere of literature, science, or art has all the earmarks of a search for identity formerly conferred by a coat of arms. Nowhere outside of this part of Europe does the artist, writer, or scholar enjoy such exceptional privileges, and this is not the result of transformations brought about by the Communist Party, which understood just enough to make use of such a setup. Exceptional privileges and a high income do not always have to go together, because money can be replaced by fame...[30]

2. The Organization of a Teacher's Education

The general system of Polish education has undergone enormous growth and expansion since the end of World War II and the establishment of the People's Republic. The secondary education system prior to World War II contained relatively few vocational training institutions and only in the last few years before the outbreak of the War were attempts made to establish lycea for teachers' education. Secondary general education was divided into a public and private sector: the first was by and large limited to children of government officials and it practiced quite consciously a policy of discrimination in terms of admission with respect to youth of minority background; the second was expensive and thus economically prohibitive to most. Before the War there were in Poland only 32 institutions of higher learning of various types but by 1947-48, despite devastation and dislocation of large segments of the population and despite the deliberate policy on the part of the German occupation forces to eliminate the Polish intelligentsia, the number of higher academic institutions totalled 56. Schools of higher education were created in urban centers which previously had none, such as Łodź, Katowice, Radom, Bialystok and others. By 1963-64 the number of institutions of higher learning increased to 74. As did the public secondary schools of general education, the institutions of higher education prior to World War II engaged in restrictive admission policies towards members of ethnic-national and religious minority groups, and some departments or schools (e.g., medicine, law, etc.) even adopted practices of numerus clausus (the percentage of students admitted not to exceed the percentage of given group within the population) if not numerus nullus (total exclusion) with regard to Jews and others.

In 1967 the hitherto separate ministries of Education and Higher Education merged. In the pre-merger days the social status and prestige of a particular institution was pretty much indicated by whether it came under one or the other of the two ministries. The Higher Schools of Pedagogy although of post-secondary education level were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education.

Highest in terms of prestige among the institutions of higher learning are the universities. Prior to World War II there were six universities in Poland, including the still existing church-supported Catholic University of Lublin. The organizational structure and curricula offerings at these institutions followed closely the patterns established during the 19th Century. Although the changes following World War II and the establishment of the People's Republic has imposed a different set of demands (mainly related to the needs of the economy and industrial-technological progress) the universities (especially the old established ones) were rather slow in meeting these demands. It is hoped however that separation of previously joined departments or the establishment of semi-autonomous schools and colleges within the university structure (e.g., medicine, pharmacology, forestry, etc.) would facilitate the process of closer coordination between the work of the higher institutions of learning and the needs of the economy.

While the war was still going on but with the liberation of the Eastern part of present-day Poland, a new university (named after Maria Curie-Sklodowska) was established in Lublin which then served as the provisional seat of Polish authority. In 1945 a university was created in the industrial city of Lodź and one in Toruń (named after Mikołaj Kopernik --

Copernicus). The Bolesław Bierut University was founded in Wrocław (Breslau) after that formerly German city came under Polish jurisdiction. Some of the universities contain specialized pedagogic programs within different academic departments. For example:

1. Jagiełło University in Cracow offers a program in education within its Department of Philosophy and History;

2. Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin offers pedagogy within the Department of Humanities;

3. Łódź University has a program on education within the Department of Philosophy and History;

4. The Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań offers courses on pedagogy in the Philosophy and History Department;

5. The Mikołaj Kopernik University in Toruń maintains a special program on art education within its Department of Fine Arts;

6. Warsaw University encompasses within its structure a separate Pedagogic Department which specializes also in psychology;

7. Bolesław Bierut University in Wrocław offers pedagogy within the Department of Philosophy and History.

In addition, the higher schools of economics in Cracow, Poznań, and Wrocław, which exist apart from the universities in these locations, as well as the Main School for Planning and Statistics in Warsaw maintain special programs of pedagogic studies (Studium Pedagogiczne). Work in this field within these schools of higher learning requires at least two semesters of intensive concentration and encompasses such subjects as: psychology, general pedagogy, history of theories of education, methods of teaching economics, field work practicum in economic education. Similarly, the Higher Schools of the Plastic Arts in Gdańsk, Cracow, Poznań, Warsaw, and Wrocław incorporate special pedagogic studies which include such subjects as: Foundations of education and current problems of education, principles of didactics and teaching methods especially in the area of the plastic arts as well as art education, school organization and problems of mass culture, with special emphasis on the propagation of "plastic art culture."[31]

The universities prepare their graduates majoring in education for work in the secondary schools (*lycea*) of general education with special emphasis on their particular major (e.g., humanities, social science, art) while the specialized schools of higher education offering pedagogic training (i.e., economics and art) prepare teacher-specialists for secondary vocational schools within the particular areas of specialization. Nevertheless, because of the shortage of secondary schools many teacher-graduates of higher institutions of learning are compelled to seek or to accept employment on the elementary school level. Although the percentage of teachers with completed university level education working on the elementary school level is not exceedingly high, their number is nevertheless on the increase much because the *program of physically building secondary school structures is lagging behind the production of graduates from institutions of higher learning qualified to teach on that level*. Thus in 1957-58 the percentage of higher education graduates teaching on the basic school level was 3.6 *of all teachers employed on that level* while in the pre-war period of 1935-36 it was 3.2; by 1960-61, however, the percentage of such teachers has almost doubled to 6.0.[32]

However, a major source of supply of teachers in the secondary schools *of all types* (that is, general education, pedagogic lycea, vocational) -- next to the universities -- are the Higher Schools of Pedagogy

(Wyzsze Szkoly Pedagogiczne), entrance to which may sometimes be as stringent as to a university. Before the merger of the ministries concerned with education these institutions were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education which also had charge of elementary and secondary education. These schools contain subject matter departments but their main stress is on teaching methods and, generally, on social studies. All of them contain departments of philology, history, mathematics, and physics, but some also maintain specialized departments in biology (Cracow), geography (Gdańsk and Cracow), chemistry (Gdańsk and Katowice). There are five such schools in the country (located in Gdańsk, Cracow, Katowice, Opole and Rzeszów -- none in Warsaw since Warsaw University features a special education department of its own). The courses in philology invariably include Polish and Russian philology and the schools in Rzeszów, Katowice, and Opole specialize in technological education -- that is, in training teachers specifically for employment in secondary vocational schools and technikums. The Higher School of Pedagogy in Opole narrows down its specialization to the training of teachers in the areas of mechanical and electrical engineering of a secondary vocational school level. Although normally designed for regular day-time students these teachers' education schools maintain a system of correspondence courses and a network of extensions so as to enable working teachers to complete their education without having to take time off. The normal duration of study in these institutions of higher learning is five years and upon completion the student is awarded a Magister degree, the equivalent to a Masters degree in the United States.

Although consigned to eventual liquidation and gradual phasing out the schools of Teachers' Education (*Studium Nauczycielskie*) constitute the *main source* of teachers for the elementary (basic) schools in Poland. Until academic year 1966-67 training in these schools was designed to extend two years beyond secondary school but with the beginning of that year a three-year training program was started. The Teachers' Education Schools are especially attractive to graduates of pedagogic *lycea* which themselves require the completion of a five year program but they also attract graduates of the *lycea* of general education, usually those who could not gain entrance to a university or some other institution of higher education. Of all the post-secondary educational institutions the schools of Teachers' Education (popularly referred to as SN's) enjoy *the least* prestige. Yet over the years the number of teachers on the elementary school level who have graduated from the SN's has increased. If the secondary schools are not capable of absorbing all graduates from institutions of higher learning trained for work on that educational level, the elementary schools are facing a reverse problem -- namely, that of manpower shortage. Thus, the elementary schools not only can pick up the surplus of teachers originally destined for but not accommodated by the secondary schools as well as all graduates of the schools of Teachers' Education (SN) but they also must resort to the employment of those who did not continue past the secondary pedagogic *lycea* (and who officially are qualified to teach only on the kindergarten, pre-school level). The elementary school also must resort to the assistance of part time teachers and teachers who study (through correspondence courses, evening schools, or extensions) to complete their own education and degree requirements while simultaneously working in an elementary school.

As in the case of the other schools of higher education, the schools of teachers' training of the SN type have a surplus of students trying to specialize in subject matters related to the humanities and a shortage of candidates capable or willing to combine teaching with majors in the physical sciences. Some SN's also have vacancies in the departments of Russian philology (language and literature) as well as in music education. The same situation prevails among students taking SN courses via correspondence or through the various extension divisions. In 1966, for example, 15,400 persons received off-campus instruction from these schools and among these the vast majority chose courses in Polish language and literature, geography, and history while courses in physics, chemistry, Russian language and literature remained undersubscribed.[33]

Formally, the schools of teachers' education of the SN type aim to train personnel for the following:

(a) elementary school teaching;

(b) teaching of practical subjects in basic (elementary) vocational schools as well as arts and crafts instructors in general elementary schools;

(c) vocational teaching in agricultural schools or in schools for agricultural preparedness;

(d) pre-school education;

(e) work in children's homes, dormitories (internates), vacation resorts for children, orphanages, child care centers.[34]

Depending upon the student's occupational specialty goal his program of study will vary. Thus, the candidate for elementary school teaching will be exposed to courses in Polish language and literature, Russian language and literature, history and civics, geography, physical education, biology, chemistry, physics, mathematics, music education, art education, polytechnic education, principles of elementary education. The student may specialize in any of these subjects or in a combination of subjects. The most frequently encountered combinations are: history and civics, geography and physical education, geography and polytechnic education, biology and chemistry, biology and physical education, physics and mathematics, physics and chemistry, art and polytechnic education, elementary education and physical education, elementary education and music. As the above would indicate the range of specialty combinations is rather wide since no real in-depth specialization in any subject matter is really expected from teachers on this level of education. On the other hand, SN students aiming at careers in elementary vocational school teaching are expected to function as teachers in particular areas of specialization -- e.g., agriculture, business-trade, mechanical, electrical, textiles, telecommunications, vehicular (drivers' education and automobile repair), etc.

For teachers preparing for careers on the general elementary school level, the program will also differ according to the grade level for which they are being trained, with greater subject matter emphasis given to those aiming to teach at the higher elementary school grades (i.e., grades 5-8). For Candidates intending to teach on the elementary grade level 1-4 the emphasis will be more on methods of teaching than on subject matter. Some though may choose to prepare themselves for teaching on the general elementary school level without any particular grade level emphasis. Their education will include work on some select sociological and philosophical problems, psychology, pedagogy and the history of education, seminars on school organization, school hygiene, teaching methods and teaching practicum in the field. In addition, regardless of specialization, students at the SN's are encouraged to learn two foreign languages (and two hours a week are set aside during the first, second and third semesters for this purpose), to participate in extra-curricular activities which would "atune" the future teachers to problems of contemporary culture (including problems of technology and art), to become involved in the activities of educational circles and in organized specialization clubs. Special hours are set aside each week for these informal-formal, as it were, activities. Male students who have not yet completed their military training are required to participate in a program of military preparation, equivalent to the programs of Reserve Officers' Training in the colleges and universities of the United States. Participants in these programs are entitled, upon entering the armed forces, to have their military obligation reduced by one year. Although not formally stated, the student is also expected to show his civic awareness through involvement in the various social and political organizations operating within the school.

The successful applicant for regular (daytime) admission to a school of teachers' education of the SN type and whose intention is to eventually teach on the general elementary school level must:

(a) submit his certificate of completion of a general education lyceum (matura);
(b) submit a medical certificate testifying to his physical fitness to join the teaching profession;
(c) possess the necessary ideological-moral qualifications for service as a teacher;
(d) not be above 23 years of age;
(e) successfully pass his entrance examination.

The age restriction does not apply to students pursuing their studies via correspondence or extension, nor does it apply to future teachers who are able to receive their education through a university or higher school of pedagogy. Ideological-moral fitness is ascertained by a recruitment commission at the time of application for admission to the SN when the candidate was still a *lyceum* student. On the other hand, the entrance examination is judged and certified by a recruitment commission of the institution to which the candidate has applied for admission.

In addition to graduates of secondary schools of general education, the institutions of the SN type will also accommodate graduates of the music and plastic arts *lycea* but only if the latter agree to continue their specialized studies and, eventually, teach these subjects on the elementary school level. On the other hand, *graduates of vocational secondary schools and technikums may be admitted only if suitable candidates from the general education lycea are not available* and vacancies still exist at the beginning of the academic year, and only if they meet the other requirements of admission (e.g., health, age, positive ideological-moral posture, passing scores on entrance examination) and if the *Regional School Kuratorium* does not object to such admission.

Graduates of secondary pedagogic schools -- to whom the SN's hold a special attraction -- are in a category by themselves. Less privileged than their colleagues from the secondary schools of general education but more so than those who graduated from vocational secondary schools, they may be admitted to the SN at the regular entrance period but *only if they choose to specialize* in any of the following: Russian philology, music education, art education, vocational teachers' training --

to meet the shortage of teaching manpower in these subjects on the elementary school level. But, again, even such admission is not automatic for graduates of the pedagogic lycea; they must be recommended by their respective secondary schools as being exceptionally able and their individual applications must be approved by the Regional School Kuratorium.

Thus, by restrictions for admission and, later, in choice of program, the school system tends to perpetuate patterns of stratification, based upon ability as well as social connections. The individual can hardly escape the repercussions following his initial choice made by him or for him at the crucial nodal point of his elementary school education (at the completion of grades 6 and 7 and 8). Even the least prestigious of the institutions of higher education, the teachers' training schools of the SN type, are "stacked" in favor of graduates of the higher status secondary schools of general education. And the SN school, carrying less prestige than other post-secondary educational institutions, attract the least able or sociallyfortunate among the graduates of the general education lycea. Yet, these schools would rather admit such graduates in the normal process than perhaps more gifted (or late blooming) graduates of secondary schools of some other type, including those who completed the pedagogic lycea. The latter in order to reach the portals even of the SN must overcome additional obstacles.

But even the general obstacle erected for all applicants to the SN -- that is, the entrance examination -- is no easy matter for all. These examinations are administered by special recruitment commissions in the period June 24 - July 3 (often too late for the unsuccessful candidate to make an attempt elsewhere) and consist of three parts: written, oral, and practical demonstration. These examinations vary with the field of specialization chosen.

Passing of a formal examination process is necessary, though, at entering each educational institution past elementary school. Qualitatively the most difficult ones are designed for candidates to the universities and higher schools of pedagogy. There a *future teacher*, majoring in education, in order to qualify for admission, must pass a written examination in Polish literature and oral examinations in Polish grammar and/or history, biology, or physics. At the university the education major is exposed to greater emphasis on theories of education, history and psychology than is the case in the schools of education of the SN type. But here, too, the student at some point in his educational process must do some practice teaching in the field.

Teachers' training (or, as it is referred to on that level, pedagogic education) at the university level is designed to take up five years (ten semesters). At the completion of their studies graduates are entitled to the degree of *Magister Pedagogiki*, equivalent to a Masters degree of Education in an American institution. At the university the student-prospective teacher is exposed to two programs: one encompassing various aspects of pedagogy and another devoted to a specific subject matter major. The pedagogy phase of the university student's education includes *methods* of teaching subject matter as well as theories of education, general pedagogy, didactics, history of education, general psychology, developmental and educational psychology, elements of basic education and of *teaching education*, comparative education, special pedagogy and social pedagogy. The advanced student is further exposed to specialized courses in problems of education and school organization, problems of adult education, problems of dealing with retardation and/or social deviation.

Unlike the SN student who is merely encouraged to learn foreign languages, the university student majoring in education is required to master and pass examinations in two foreign languages during his first two years at the institution. The practicum included in the pedagogic phase of his training lasts a total of six months and during that period the student may be assigned to work in a school, a correctional institution for children or youth, in some special institution, an orphanage, a prison, or in a variety of other educational institutions. To a greater extent than at the SN, the university student aiming for a teaching career is expected to manifest social and political concerns, especially as these affect youth and youth organizations. Graduates of these programs qualify for professional work on a higher level than the graduates of the SN -- in a sense they are to become future teachers' teachers -- but, in the meantime, they may be employed at schools of various levels (elementary and/or secondary), as organizers and administrators of various educational and cultural activities both for youth and adults, as education directors in special institutions, including prisons, organizations, clubs, houses of culture, as well as on the staffs of the educational press, publishing houses, educational radio programs, etc.

Higher schools of pedagogy which in terms of prestige fall between universities and schools of teachers' education of the SN type offer subject matter training in the following fields: Polish philology, Russian philology, pedagogy, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geography, polytechnic education as well as preparation for vocational teaching, especially in the areas of mechanical and electrical engineering.

As at the universities, the normal course of studies at the higher schools of pedagogy is designed to take five years (10 semesters), with the exception of majors in mathematics and physics who may complete their courses in four years (eight semesters). Upon graduation (involving completion of a written thesis and required examinations) the student receives a Magister (Masters) degree in his chosen major which entitles him to teach in his field of specialization. The programmatic statement setting forth the principles guiding education in the higher schools of pedagogy maintains that

> (these schools) train candidates for the teaching profession. To serve that end the student may choose from among an appropriate selection of scientific disciplines and programs designed to meet the training and ideological-educational goals of the secondary school system as well as a curriculum in subjects of pedagogy and teaching methods, including practicum in the field at schools and other places of educational activities, ideological subjects, so that in the end the student may gain knowledge of and understanding of the social, political and economic problems of socialism and of the world in which he lives.[35]

The student at the higher schools of pedagogy, as the university student whose eventual professional goal is teaching, may either deepen his subject matter knowledge so that he can later teach his chosen specialty on the secondary school level, or he may concentrate on general teaching theory and practice (or intersperse this with emphasis on educational and behavioral psychology), or, alternately, concentrate on the "philosophical and economic" aspects of education so as to be able to

> discern and solve problems of his professional competence and work in the light of the general needs of the nation's economy and culture, to understand the relationship of his field of work with the goals of social, political, and economic development, and to order his own life aspirations in accordance with social interests.[36]

It would seem then that the higher schools of pedagogy are training grounds not only for secondary school teaching (primarily) but also for posts in the broad area of administration in the field of education and cultural organization. These schools are to provide a pool of middle-level administrative technicians who would rise in the hierarchy of the educational and cultural organization structure on the strength of their expertise as well as political loyalty. Eventually they may fully replace those who came into these positions on the strength of political loyalty and Party activity alone -- that is, those who are loyal perhaps but not necessarily expert and who, as a matter of course, due to advancing age, may disappear from the scene altogether in the near future. Unsure of the allegiance of all its cadres the system had to elevate the loyal, in the beginning stages of development, without regard to their particular competence; the higher schools of pedagogy are to remedy this situation at least in the areas of education and culture organization by providing personnel both of talent and knowledge, as well as of socio-political loyalty.

The practicum of the student of the higher schools of pedagogy may involve field work in secondary schools of differing type, in organized non-school activities of young people (e.g., clubs, etc.), summer camps, vocational training. He is expected to learn and pass examinations in two foreign languages, to participate in physical education programs and in military studies.

Of the five existing higher schools of pedagogy two (in Katowice and Rzeszow) contain departments for polytechnic education. The school at Katowice also has a section for vocational education teaching especially in the fields of mechanical and electrical work as does the school at Opole.

Since polytechnic education was recently introduced as a subject into schools of general education, higher schools of pedagogy graduates are trained to teach in this area within these schools. Thus, although graduates of higher schools of pedagogy are primarily trained for teaching at secondary schools of general education (and, in the absence of employment there, in the always manpower-hungry elementary schools), they are also beginning to gird themselves to meet the increasing needs for personnel trained in the field of polytechnic education (with or without narrower specialization) both in vocational as well as in general education schools. In practice, due to the inability of the system to absorb all those trained to teach on the post-elementary school level, close to 40 percent of the graduates of the higher schools of pedagogy (and of the education programs associated with the universities) are eventually winding up with employment precisely on that (i.e., elementary) level -- the level of education in which their training is not fully utilized and/or for which they are less well prepared.[37] Karol Dziduszko, for example, considers sixty hours of lectures on various elements of pedagogy, including history of education and of educational thought, general pedagogy and education theory, learning theory and psychology -- the total number of hours in these subjects to which a student of education in the higher institutions of learning, including the higher schools of pedagogy, is exposed -- as not enough.

Facilities at the disposal of students at the higher schools of pedagogy and at the universities are superior to those available at the schools of teachers' training of the SN type. Students have access to methodology laboratories, modern teaching aids and equipment -- yet less stress is placed at that training level on practicum teaching than is customary at the level of the SN schools. Not only is little weight given to teaching experience as part of the training offered future teachers at these higher levels of education but what is available is apparently rather poorly organized. The student-teacher is met with indifference in the field -- he is often seen more as a hindrance than a help. He is simply not present in any one place long enough either to become accustomed to the particular environment or to be fully utilized by the teachers and students of the institution to which he is assigned for practicum. The problem of practice teaching apparently reached such gravity that it demanded the attention and intervention of the Party: the XI Plenum of the Central Committee of the United Polish Workers' Party (PZPR) adopted decisions stressing the need for greater practice teaching for students at the university and higher school of pedagogy levels.

Moreover, higher schools of pedagogy and education-oriented university programs or departments -- not to speak of the lower teachers' training schools of the SN type -- do not enjoy wholehearted respect among academicians. Consequently, they do not attract the most profession-oriented professors to teach subject matter courses nor do they attract the best among subject matter-oriented students.

Set aside but within the general framework of training cadres for the school system is the network of artistic-cultural education institutions, including those preparing future librarians. In the pre-ministerial merger period these schools were under the administrational jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and Art and operate on the elementary, secondary, and higher education levels. Each of these schools trains students for a special area in the arts or educational-cultural activity -- e.g., music, fine arts, dance, theatre and film, etc. There are two secondary level schools which specifically train librarians for educational and cultural institutions. In addition to their specialty these schools also encompass a program of general education, they generally enjoy a great deal of prestige and admission to them is highly competitive. Enrollment in schools of this type -- regardless of level -- has more than doubled in comparison with the immediate pre-war period in which many of these schools were operated by private interests.

3. The Organization of the Teaching Trainee's Life

Upon admission to a university, higher school of pedagogy, or to a teachers' training institution of the SN type a student must submit to the rektor's (equivalent to an institutional president in the United States) office a signed oath which is, subsequently, kept in the student's file. The oath (ślubowanie) reads as follows:

> I solemnly swear that:
>
> I will study systematically and with diligence,
>
> I will meet all demands and orders issued by my academic institution and by superior authorities,
>
> I will accord proper respect to the authorities of the academic institution, its professors and workers, and
>
> I will scrupulously adhere to the principles of collegiality in my association with fellow students and will use school property with proper care.
>
> I will in my entire conduct be careful to maintain a posture worthy of a student in the Polish People's Republic. With a full sense of responsibility I will strive to achieve the best preparation possible for future labor in the cause of a socialist Poland.[38]

Failure to sign or to submit the oath by a designated date is officially taken to mean that the student has resigned from further studies at the given institution. On the other hand, disciplinary infractions, especially of a political nature, in the course of residence at the institution are considered to be "breaches" of the solemn oath.

Much of the student's social life is centered around the Student House which serves as a place of rest, independent work and study, recreation, but primarily as a dormitory for students beyond commuting distance. The Student House is administered by a manager who is assisted in policy matters and in the development of appropriate programs by a Resident Council (Rada Mieszkańców). A student loses residence privileges at the House if he fails in his course work, violates the code and regulations, if his parents live within commuting distance, or if he has been expelled from school for whatever reason.

The student is faced with a whole array of youth organizations operating at the institution and its adjuncts. These organizations may be of political, civic, social-recreational, cultural, as well as professional-educational character. Among the most important and strongest are: The Union of Socialist Youth (Zwiazek Młodziezy Socjalistycznej, ZMS), The Union of Rural Youth (Zwiazek Młodzieży Wiejskiej, ZMW), and the Association of Polish Students (Zrzeszenie Studentów Polskich, ZSP). The Union of Socialist Youth (ZMS) operates on all school levels both in urban and rural areas and is structurally, as well as ideologically and politically, subordinated to the United Polish Workers' Party although officially it is supposed to be autonomous in character. However, the statutes of the Union, particularly Articles 1 and 2, posit as its goals the propagation of the Party program, assistance in the realization of

Party objectives and policies, preparation of youth cadres for eventual membership in the Party organization.

Organized in 1957, ZMS claims to continue in the tradition of pre-war Communist, Socialist and progressive-liberal youth organizations. Its branches and cells in industrial enterprises aid management in fulfilling production goals, plant maintenance, care for equipment, and on the school level it cooperates closely with the corresponding institutional authorities. However, its main objective is in the area of "political education." Within the schools of higher learning and the Student Houses, it organizes discussion circles (*Studenckie Ośrodki Dyskusyjne, SOD*), attempts to acquaint the student with the institutions of his possible future employment, and is active in the military preparedness programs. It organizes and mobilizes cadres for work at "Workers' Universities" and offers evening courses for working youth. In the course of the academic year, each member is given a specific work assignment, thus actively involving him in the organization's programs and activities.

The Union of Rural Youth (ZMW), as the ZMS, was founded in 1957 and is ideologically linked to the United Polish Workers' Party as well as to the United People's Movement (*Zjednoczone Stronnictwo Ludowe*). The latter, organized in 1949, is a peasant party programmatically committed to the "building of socialism" although it allegedly is a continuation of the traditional pre-war peasant movements and parties, including the powerful and oppositionary *Stronnictwo Ludowe*; it belongs with the Workers' Party to the Front of National Unity (*Front Jedności Narodu*), the coalition which officially governs the country and in which the Workers' Party is constitutionally assigned a dominant role. Whereas the ZMS is primarily devoted to activity among urban youth, the ZMW aims its appeal at peasant and rural youth. At the village level the working teacher is frequently involved in the operation of the local ZMW, and its primary goal at institutions of higher learning of non-agricultural character, aside from political activism, is to assist rural youth in overcoming difficulties encountered in their studies and/or adjustment to an urban environment. It cooperates closely with the ZMS. Broadly speaking, it is designed to "develop cadres of a new rural intelligentsia."

Broader in scope and formally non-party oriented is the Association of Polish Students (ZSP) which was founded in 1950 to replace the pre-war "bourgeois" student associations which in the main were organized along ethnic-religious lines and which (especially in the case of the ethnically Polish organizations) were generally conservative and nationalistic in outlook. Service-oriented, it appeals to a wide membership -- in 1962, for example, it counted over 103,000 members -- students of higher institutions of learning. The Association organizes tutorials for students falling behind in their course work and, in order to facilitate adjustment to student life, assigns to each freshman a "patron" or guardian from among the senior students. It further organizes counseling service during the usually traumatic examination periods, professional and scientific clubs among students, sport activities, student cabarets, theatre groups, choral and dance ensembles, festivals, competitions and contests for prizes designed for individual or group participants, practicums, field trips into the country and abroad. Of greater import as far as the individual is concerned is the Association's activity in the area of student health and financial assistance, including assistance with housing, cafeteria service, etc. Its

Its general land congress meets every three years to elect a General Council and Executive Committee which publishes a rather lively illustrated weekly, ITD. Although non-partisan (at least formally) the Association nevertheless strives quite consciously for ideological -- and thus, political -- involvement. Its main goals, in fact, are officially stated to be "educational activity whose aim is to develop cadres of socialist intelligentsia," to generate scientific, cultural, socio-political interests and involvements, and to activate students in "fulfillment of their basic obligations towards the institution of higher learning, the organization, and society."[39]

Many of the activities in which the Association is engaged are of the type in which junior chambers of commerce or various community booster clubs are involved in the United States. Thus, it helps organize celebrations and parades during such holidays as those commemorating the October Revolution in Russia, Lenin Days, etc.; it gets out the vote during elections, participates in various civic projects (as collecting monies for the School Fund, propagating the Days of the Book and the Press, city beautification work under the slogan of "Students in Service of Their City," aid to areas in distress, Sunday outings--"White Sundays"--to assist villages with their harvest, recruitment of cadres to areas in need of qualified manpower, etc.). In the realm of political activity the Association has voluntarily subordinated itself -- in a follower's position -- to the Union of Socialist Youth which takes the lead. Although a member of the International Student Union, the Association pays particular attention to collaboration and cooperation with its Soviet counterpart through local ties with branches of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Association. The ZSP also works closely within the various educational institutions with the Secular School Association (Towarzystwo Szkół Świeekich, TSS) and the Association of Atheists and Freethinkers (Stowarzyszenie Ateistów i Wolnomyślicieli, SAiW). Both these organizations were formed in 1957 for the purpose of achieving greater secularization through "the development and propagation of a scientific and materialistic world outlook; struggle for realization of the principles of tolerance and socialist coexistence; to combat the designs of the clergy."[40]

The Secular School Association (TSS) in particular has centered much of its work among students in institutions of higher education, especially those training future teaching cadres. A high proportion of its membership consists of teachers (in 1963 out of a 220,596 total membership 86,452 were teachers, and the proportion of teachers-members in the rural areas is even higher, although there the TSS is generally less successful than in the cities -- out of 12,345 "circles" (or branches) only 4,733 were located in villages in 1963.[41] The goal of this Association is to bring about complete secularization of the school system through the creation and mobilization within society of a wide supportive base for that goal. Student organizations in conjunction with the TSS organize lectures for students, teachers and parents, conduct special seminars for parents, counseling centers, vacation courses for teachers, prepare educational material, including books, pamphlets and audio-visual aids, sponsor special research projects. Since 1958 the Secular School Association jointly with SAiW operates a Free Pedagogic Studium (Wolne Studium Pedagogiezne), later renamed Center for the Perfection of Lay Cadres (Ośrodek Doskonalenia Kadr Leiekich) which offers long and short-term courses in ethics, problems of education and religion. Some of the incursions of the TSS into the field of the teachers' training institutions take on rather elaborate dimensions. Thus, for example, a full day *colloquium* devoted to the theme "Thinking and Learning" took place in May, 1966, at the school of teachers' education (SN type) at Toruń, with the participation of representatives of the Regional *Kuratorium*, the district (*Województwo*) Educational Methodology Center, Teachers' Union, and the Secular School Association. The proceedings were presided over by Professor Tomaszewski, chairman of the Department (*katedra*) of Psychology of Warsaw University. In the audience was a delegation of special guests from the youth organization *Jugendweihe* in the German Democratic Republic who came to study the activities of the TSS, especially in the area of parent education.[42]

Limited only to secondary schools before World War II after the establishment of People's Poland, military training was introduced into institutions of higher learning. Male students (and in medical academies female students as well) above the age of 18, physically fit for service but having not met their military obligation prior to entering a school of higher learning, are *obliged* to participate in a military training program. A person removed from academic status may be enlisted into the armed services at any time; conversely, an enlisted man accepted for higher study may by a certain date appeal to the Military District Commander and gain release from the services. Upon completion of the military training program at the institution of higher learning, the student is transferred to a regular military unit for a prescribed period of further training at the end of which he must pass a set of tests and, if successful, is transferred to the reserves with the rank of reserve ensign (*podchoraży rezerwy*) which entitles him, subsequently, to an officer's commission. The *stratification pattern thus begun at the last grades of elementary school continues and extends further and deeper to encompass the military service where the social elite meets with those left on the side in a true command giving/command receiving relationship*. Continuing a pre-war tradition, deviant members (of one type or another) of the elite are never recalled from their reserve status and thus never given officer's rank. Before the war, given the relatively small number of secondary school graduates, the above military process began upon completion of secondary schooling. A person with a *matura* either was called into the services with the ensign rank (later to be commissioned to junior lieutenant, *podporucznik*) or was held in permanent abeyance and was never called into active duty. Once called he had to be given his rank. As a result, members of minority groups (e.g., Jews, Ukranians, Belorussians, Lithuanians, etc.) or members of the Polish ethnic core group suspect of political deviation were never called into the services if they were secondary school graduates and thus entitled to an eventual commission. At the present a student involved in unorthodox political activities may never be called into active duty, especially if he has completed his studies, the military program at his institution of higher learning, and consequently would be entitled to rank and privilege. His loyalty is in doubt and the armed forces can least afford to take chances with him. On the other hand, if the same student is expelled from the academic institution he may be called into the armed forces where he would serve as a private. This process, in fact, usually follows expulsion for whatever reason, and is looked upon, if not as punishment, as the system's opportunity to "retool" the malcontent.

The student riots of Spring, 1968, were followed by demands from school administrators (e.g., the *rektor* of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Grzegorz Leopold Seidler) and politicians that formal courses in Marxism-Leninism be *reintroduced as obligatory subjects*. But even without such obligatory courses the future teacher has many opportunities to absorb and assimilate the principles of the official ideology, both through extracurricular indoctrination and in the course of the regular learning process, especially in the humanities and social sciences. Since prospective teachers tend to major in these areas and once working in the school of assignment would teach these or related subjects, it is presumed they would be able to transmit, in turn, the values of the ideology to their own charges. History is taught from a Marxist-Leninist perspective; the history of Russia and the Ukraine, previously presented in negative terms, is presently being offered in a rather sympathetic light. Thus stress is given to the growth of Russia as an international power and the significance of the Ukrainian revolt of national liberation under the leadership of Bohdan Chmielnicki (1648) *against Polish oppression*. History of Poland stresses the destructive role of the aristocracy ("*Gołota*" *szlachecka* and the confederation of Targowica, for example), the reactionary character of the Church, peasant rebellions, the importance of the Eastern markets for Poland, national revolts, and the origins of the labor movement. Although the instructor at the institution of higher learning has a great deal of personal discretion in presenting his subject matter, he is also restricted by the demands of a preset curriculum outline and required reading and by the possibility that his statements during a lecture may be reported and held against him. In courses of history emphasis is also given to the emergence of the socialist movement both in the East and in the West as well as in Poland; special attention is given the revolution in Russia; events in interwar Poland are portrayed as leading the country towards increased "fascization." Treatment of the interwar period in Poland, especially of the various competing labor parties, would require a great deal of political sensitivity and tact on the part of the instructor as these deal with strife between socialists and communists, the liquidation of the Communist Party of Poland by the Third International (Comintern), factional struggles within the Party, etc. Courses in philosophy include dialectical materialism(including ontology) and historical materialism (including ethics).

Examinations (finals) begin in June. Some students prefer to postpone these until Fall. Nevertheless, the beginning of summer is a hectic period for all during which usually warm weather, sports, romance and social life compete with school pressures. Many student-teachers prepare themselves for field work (practicum) at youth camps and vacation resorts. After the fourth year at an institution of higher learning, male students are obligated to attend military camp, a prerequisite towards successful completion of their armed training. The official end of the academic year (June 27) is accompanied by festivities and brief outings. Some leave for their practicum or military camp, others continue their training in special summer camps (for language training, science education, etc.). In 1966 some 10,000 higher education students (3,000 more than during the preceding year) served as volunteers on state farms, worked in the forests, on road construction, etc. A higher number (over 12,000) traveled abroad that year, mostly to other socialist countries to participate in special foreign language seminars and school-organized scientific expeditions (in the fields of geology, geography, mining, etc.).[43] Some went back home to wait for the beginning of next academic year or to vacation privately at some sea or mountain resort or at one of the retreats maintained by one of the youth organizations. These retreats operated by the Union of Socialist Youth, Union of Rural Youth, and the Association of Polish Students, combine rest and recreation with education. Some of these (e.g., one located in the vicinity of Płock on the banks of the Vistula River) are international in character inasmuch as they also host student-visitors from various parts of Europe. Highly placed political personalities often leave their desks in steaming Warsaw to visit and lecture at these retreats. Thus, for example, General Mieczysław Moczar, the powerful Minister of the Interior, is a frequent visitor and lecturer on "problems of patriotic education" or on current events topics. The Minister or Vice-Minister of Agriculture will visit an academic retreat operated by the Union of Rural Youth (ZMW) and speak on problems of his concern or competence, and generals or veterans of the partisan movement will narrate on exploits during the War of Resistance. The aforementioned international camp in the vicinity of Płock was visited by Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki who spoke on Polish foreign policy.[44]

The community may understand and forgive a certain amount of student frolic, mischief, or even what some may interpret as "immoral behavior." The community, or certain elements within it, may even sympathize with student political dissidence since students in Poland were traditionally politicized, except for about a ten-year period after World War II when apathy and anti-heroism was in vogue -- much because emotional outbursts of political passions, resistance in war, uprisings, underground activity, had brought in its wake destruction, defeat, and bitterness. Socio-political and personal adjustment to reality became a new credo, as it were, an ability to be envied and offering to those successful in this area, the security of a job, some social and economic privilege, a retreat into the tranquility of home and family. All that one had to do in order to survive was to acquiesce, "take things easy." These kinds of attitudes -- a departure indeed from the romantic tradition of the Polish past which called for suicidal cavalery charges, heroic death in an uneven contest -- came to an abrupt end in October, 1956, when Gomulka was returned to power by mass demands. Traditional national sentiments, less spirited perhaps than in the past, re-emerged and to some these traditional sentiments became mingled with libertarian and humanistic interpretations of the official ideology, learned in school. The events of Spring, 1968, have brought students back into politics, dissident politics for some -- but students have again emerged as a political force in Poland. The Czech neighbors in the South -- both admired and despised for their ability to adjust to external circumstances (though thus, while adjusting, accommodating) and to survive physically intact with their ancient cities and national treasures -- launched at that time a new policy of "socialism with a new face," something reminiscent of the promise held out for many by the events of the Polish October of 1956, and inspired and filled with envy mary students in Poland. Jews with whom Poles maintained such close relationships involving a complex web of hates and loves -- Jews whom many Poles suspected of being clever but physically weak since they supposedly lacked the traditional Polish appreciation of the "honorable death" or romantic bravura -- Jews have, at the same time, fought a successful war in the Middle East against many odds. The negative attitude of the government both towards the events in Czechoslovakia and towards the Israeli victory of June, 1967, has only served to aggravate student dissent in an almost anarchic surge of abandon. The banning of a theatre presentation of the classic drama by Adam Mickiewicz, Dziady (Forefathers) for supposedly misinterpreted anti-Moscow lines (although these lines referred to a pre-revolutionary Russia) only served as the local spark which ignited the fuel-soaked fuse.

Student politicization is thus in keeping with tradition in Poland. However, while understood and even sympathetically received in some circles, student deviant behavior, both political and other, if made an issue of, can easily generate opposing sentiments. Students, especially those in institutions of higher education, constitute an elite of privilege. Not only is their very status as students in higher education testimony of privileges garnished but they are also seen as future claimants of privilege on the job market. They are the intelligentsia, they are the officers in the armed forces, their work does not involve the sweat and the grease which physical labor often does; they are the people with clean hands and clean white shirts; they are the snobs looking down at manual labor, and blue collar workers, and members of the lower bureaucratic ranks who lack the opportunities for advancement and who see the university or secondary school graduate overtake him on the bureaucratic ladder view the students with resentment. Their own children did not fare so well in the educational process. Students frolic when others work and in the traditional perception of the working class, work which does not involve physical exertion, sweat and calluses, is no labor at all. Moreover, popular mythology has it, as already indicated, that many have achieved their high student status not because of ability and talent but due to family connections, inherited social position, even bribes. It is therefore easy to arouse usually well submerged resentments and hostilities and bring them into the open, to turn amused toleration or even slight sympathy with student demands into open rejection. As in the United States where the taxpayer often turns against school budgets -- if given a chance to vote on these -- as the most accessible, visible target of accumulated grievances, institutions of higher learning in Poland are beneficiaries of public support and public funds, and the lives of students and professors are made easier because of the effort of the working class and the lower middle class. The school of every level is public property and those active in it operate within the public gaze, as if behind glass walls. It is therefore expected of students that they behave with conformity to the accepted standards and, if anything, set a model of correctness for others to emulate.

These demands are especially made on students training for the teaching profession, especially in a small or medium-sized locale. Not only are they the beneficiaries of public funds, not only do they enjoy privilege (by virtue of being students) denied to others, but it is they in whom the education of future generations will be entrusted. The school authorities themselves, aware of these conditions wrought with potential difficulties and anxious to avoid complications, police the student-teachers' behavior with some severity and constantly remind them of their obligations and the expectations pinned on them. The Party and administrative authorities, faced with popular demands or even sensing popular dissatisfactions, may stir resentment in his direction but would not in any case come to his defense if under community fire.

The following incident, perhaps extreme in details but otherwise quite characteristic of prevailing moods and the position of student-teachers, may provide some insights. Irena J., a student at the State Institute of Special Pedagogy in Warsaw, is the unwed mother of a two-year-old boy. Since his birth the child was kept in the State Home for Small Children in Warsaw. Although a student, she was officially classified as a nonworking mother and as such was expected to either take the child home or at least to visit the child regularly. Because of her studies, she could not meet either of these expectations as result of which it was demanded of her that she relinquish all rights to her son and give him up for adoption -- a demand she also turned down. At this point court proceedings began against the mother and the story was featured prominently in Życie Warszawy of November 9, 1966. The fact that the "heroine of the sordid tale" studies pedagogy awoke a lively response from the readers of the popular daily. Writes one:

> Is it right that such a person, a mother of a neglected child, should obtain a diploma of completion of higher education? Such behavior is enough to disqualify her on moral grounds and to arm such people with intellectual attributes only increases their dangerous behavior to society. Why do not the proper youth organizations concern themselves with that type of asocial behavior towards one's own child? How come that the National Council, the Residential Block Committee, or some other local authority are not aware of a mother who does not fulfill her human obligation? Isn't there too much softness in dealing with such persons?

And another reader ends her letter to the editor of Życie Warszawy as follows:

> It cannot be tolerated that such a woman should become a pedagog. I am of the opinion that she should be prevented from completing her studies. Imagine, a teacher dragged through the courts...

Simultaneously with the above letters, the editor also published -- with editorial approbation -- an official statement from the director of the Institute, "Prof. dr. M. Grzegorzewska:"

> The Institute of Special Pedagogy kindly informs that Citizen Irena J. was expelled from our institution during last academic year (on April 27, 1966, to be exact) because her behavior and moral posture were not in accord with the expectations and demands we make on the teaching profession in general, and, particularly, with regard to teachers in the special educational school system.

Somehow the letter of expulsion did not enter the court files and thus was not reported in the originally published story. This omission only served as an occasion for some to publicly voice their moral concerns over the school system and teachers, present and future.[45]

The first job for the graduate is, in a sense, an extension of his student life since the very process of job assignment is conditioned by his original professional/occupational choice, by the manpower needs within the particular profession, but primarily by the fact that he, the student, was educated at the expense of the state. Consequently, the process of employment and first job assignment is formally regulated and codified.[46] The statute states that graduates of higher institutions of learning should accept employment in publicly owned (state, communal, collective, etc.) enterprises which experience skilled manpower shortage and are thus in need of the graduate's training. In the case of the student-teacher this provision carries less meaning than, for example, in the case of graduate scientists and engineers who may be tempted to work for the still existing (and rather prosperous) private sector of the economy since the schools are for the most part publicly owned (with the exception of a few Church maintained academies, seminaries, Sunday schools, etc., in addition to the Catholic University at Lublin). So far as the graduate-teacher is concerned, the problem is centered on the assignment of his first teaching post. The statute merely expresses a hope that the graduate will have as much freedom in job selection as possible and that he should be given all the incentives on his first job to make him wish to remain permanently on the assigned position. In addition to the conditions of work, these incentives would include assistance in securing suitable housing. Such assistance may involve a loan towards the purchase of an apartment in a cooperative housing unit -- a loan usually not exceeding 80 percent of the employee's own financial resources towards such purchase and repayable within five years. Housing remains indeed a problem and one of the most frequently heard complaints relates precisely to the inability to find housing, especially for teachers with families. One hears about teachers who had to camp out on school premises or live with colleagues because no housing was available to them, neither upon arrival at the location of first job nor immediately afterwards. Moreover, the purchase of an apartment in a cooperative housing project exceeds the resources of any teacher (loans notwithstanding) who lacks outside assistance (e.g., relatives abroad willing to help) or some other source of private funds. In fact, cooperative houses built by unions for their members (such as the Teachers' Cooperative Housing Project on Miejska Street in Warsaw) had to place vacant apartments on the open market since the union members who had priority on these lacked the necessary funds. The original spurt of rebuilding which took place immediately after World War II, the enthusiasm involved in rehabilitating whole cities from the ruins and destruction, has lost its momentum and Warsaw, for example, is estimated to be about three years behind in its building construction program. New buildings remain partially incomplete for years although already occupied. The first wave of building construction was accomplished in record time to meet the pressing needs but, as a result, these houses are beginning to show serious structural defects while the pre-war houses which survived repeated bombings and street battles during the war are still sound despite the visible scars, and relatively spacious, although neglected and crowded. Apartments in these older houses were subdivided so that different families presently living in what used to be a one-family apartment share a communal bathroom and kitchen. Housing is thus a major problem, the securing of which may involve semi-legal deals with housing administrators and superintendents, and, consequently, the promise of a place to live is an alluring factor in accepting a job offer.

The new teacher who for some reason is dissatisfied with his first job assignment altogether or any of its conditions may bargain or appeal the assignment. As long as there is a shortage of teachers, that is as long as other educational institutions are in need of his skills, his efforts to change the first job assignment are quite likely to meet with success. However, as was already mentioned, it is the elementary school system which most acutely feels a manpower shortage while the secondary (not to speak of higher educational institutions) have more applicants than job vacancies. It is on this point, therefore, that the teacher with a degree from a higher institution of learning decides to settle on the less prestigious elementary school level. His first job assignment may indeed have been to a secondary school and may have involved a post where he would teach a subject of his major substantive interest but difficulties in finding proper housing, the remoteness of the locale from cultural opportunities, the size of the town, local work conditions, isolation from family and friends, and a variety of other factors may lead him to appeal the assignment and settle on a job at a less desirable educational level but in a location more advantageous for him. Once he has accepted the job he signs a contract which must be verified -- as fulfilling among other details the conditions of first job employment of higher education graduates -- by the proper authorities. Once on the job he is obligated normally to remain on his post for at least three years. Though it should develop that either he or the local school authorities might want to shorten this period of association (and this involves a whole new set of negotiations), during the first three years after graduation he cannot quit the profession for which he was trained at public expense. This rule is very explicit and applies to all graduates of institutions of higher education. Only those who enter the ranks of the armed forces upon graduation, invalids with certain high physical incapacities, as well as those retained by the universities or scientific institutes as research or teaching assistants, are exempt from this general rule. Should the graduate decide to renege on his three year obligation the consequences are rather severe for him in financial terms: he must pay the state half the cost accrued in his education plus the full cost of whatever assistantship, fellowships or stipends he received over the years. Such alternative involves sums of monies prohibitive to most (somewhere from 30,000 to 50,000 zlotys) and is thus rarely if ever resorted to. Of course, exceptions are conceivable, in addition to exceptions regulated by the formal statute and mentioned above. The possible exception which would enable or compel a person to leave the profession less than three years beyond graduation would involve socio-political pressures from above to either have him elevated to some other branch of social activity (usually that of political organization) or expelled and purged for some real or perceived political infraction, deviation or, simply, because it would be in the "best social and national interest" to do so. Removal of a person from his profession before the expiration of the original three years for the purpose of elevating him on the political ladder would be justified in terms of a "higher and compelling" interest. Thus it may happen that a bright and loyal student-teacher who was active and visible in a leadership position within the Union of Socialist Youth will be offered a full time political staff position or a post in a sensitive government bureau and that he may prefer this to the pursuit of the profession for which he was trained. In such eventuality "lifting" the rules relative to the three-year occupational obligation will be arranged for him from "above." Student political activists may very well welcome such opportunity since many of them, because of their political and social activism, have created an image of themselves among professors and fellow students of being more politically than professionally oriented. However, cases of this kind occur rather rarely because the political and administrative authorities would (a) first want to observe the particular individual's performance in a job situation, and (b) in the case of teachers, the need for politically active, conscious and loyal members of the teaching profession actually engaged in the profession is considered vitally important to the future of the system.

On the other hand, the negative termination of one's three-year obligation by virtue of expulsion or purge (ordered from "above") is seldom left to the affected individual's final determination (as to whether to "accept" or not) and is seldom welcomed by the purged. Thus, following the riots of Spring, 1968, a number of graduates of institutions of higher learning were expelled from their original job assignments, from the professional collectivity, and some, (especially persons of Jewish descent who were viewed as not completely "atuned to the national culture") were encouraged and enabled to leave the country. In a few instances their completed graduation theses or dissertations were published after their departure, ironically, and no repayment of the cost of education and assistance received in the past was demanded of them, either in full or in part. It involved clearly a political decision and the rules and statutes are not quite applicable where politics intervenes. Once these persons agreed to leave the country they also agreed to renounce their citizenship and with it their jobs, privileges and, also, obligations.

4. The Graduate Teacher: Assessments and Reactions

As a result of his teachers' education, the graduate is expected not only to be able to deal with students and to transmit to them subject matter knowledge but to inculcate in them values of a technological culture. Similarly, he is expected to be able not only to recount the history of the labor movement, the achievements of the People's Republic, he should not only be able to review in class before his students the essential features of diverse ideological positions, political attitudes and ideas, but he should at all times make clear where and how he personally stands -- as a citizen -- in relation to these. In other words, he should always be the conscious "bearer of socialist ideas" and able to convey these with commitment and fervor and enthusiasm so "contagious" that his students will begin themselves to feel a sense of ideological involvement.[47]

Generally, the professional education literature in Poland assesses the ability of the graduate teacher, his preparation to perform well in the areas of socialization of both socialist values and the values of a technological-scientific culture, as rather poor. Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, a leading educational theorist, also judges the ability of the graduate teacher to teach even matters of sex education as inadequate since he is hindered in this task not only by poor subject matter preparation but also by the still persisting taboos inherent in the non-socialist, non-scientific but traditional Catholic and national cultural tradition.[48] Moreover, teachers -- especially graduates of university level education departments -- are judged by some as being ill prepared in the area of educational methodology although superior in their chosen subject matter than graduates of other teachers' training institutions.[49] Teachers with university education often find themselves unprepared to cope with various and unexpected classroom situations and frequently voice the complaint against those who trained them that they were "shortchanged," in a sense, that they should have been at least sensitized to a variety of conceivable teaching emergencies -- as if this were ever possible. Such complaints, however, are borne out of a sense of frustration felt by young teachers in the field. Dziduszko advances the idea that the system of teachers' education ought to return perhaps to the traditions and methods of the pre-war State Teachers' Seminaries (Panstwowe Seminaria Nauczycielskie)which, apparently, attempted to instill in future teachers a much more critical concept of their forthcoming professional work.[50] The teacher, even if ideologically committed but ill equipped to deal with students, to handle their critical inquiries without insulting their sensitivities, yet at the same time desirous of inculcating in them a new, socialist and secular, world outlook, finds himself not infrequently in the position of appeasing his students, of compromising his own convictions, caught as he is in a frustrating web of his own pedagogic and didactic "helplessness."[51]

Some enter the teaching profession, beginning with the original training period, with a sense of personal failure because of a feeling that they were left behind, that they chose the "second best" in terms of educational opportunity as well as with respect to the prestige of the profession for which they are destined. Feelings of this kind are most likely to be encountered among male teachers of urban intelligentsia background, graduates of general education lycea. Female teachers of village background are more likely to emerge from their teachers' training committed to "do good" and with a sense of devotion and idealism. They also seem to be more idealistic than students of other backgrounds or males of rural background at the time of entering upon their professional training. Students of urban background regardless of socio-economic class origin are more likely to be cynical to begin with and their cynicism might even increase as they gain in experience and become themselves socialized into the profession although the young teacher of workingclass background is apt to temper such cynicism with a developed -- or previously existing -- sense of idealism; to him more than to the youth of intelligentsia background teaching constitutes advancement on the social ladder and, consequently, he is apt to be grateful for the opportunities that have come his way.

Inadequate subject matter preparation, especially among teachers trained at the lower level schools of education of the SN type, already has been mentioned. They come to their first job "pumped up," filled with a certain amount of subject matter knowledge which however they do not replenish and renew as time goes on (due to lack of time, lack of facilities, or plain inertia). Thus failing to keep abreast of ongoing progress in their respective fields, they soon enough have exhausted their accumulated store of subject matter facts and understanding and are forced in self defense to ward off questions from inquisitive, bright students by means of cutting off discussion once it becomes embarrassing, thus stifling student curiosity, resorting to such excuses as "this is beside the point," "this is not the subject of today," or "sit down, don't play smart." The tactic of avoiding, eluding, sidestepping, is an old and accepted device for all who try to escape a direct challenge, a hit. "It is an acceptable and good method in boxing," writes Kozakiewicz, "but in education it constitutes failure." He maintains that lack of sound subject matter preparation is characteristic of teachers-graduates of almost all training levels but is particularly appalling in the case of graduates from schools of the SN type whose training until 1967 was of two years duration only (*increased to three years that year*). Kozakiewicz asks:

> What can one really expect from an elementary school teacher who received his own education in a two-year *Studium Nauczycielskie* where in a record short time (shorter than, for example, in the self-respecting *Technikum* for Hotel Management or for Pharmacology which require three years of training) an attempt is made to stuff the future teacher with pedagogic knowledge as well as with a bit of psychology and ideology and philosophy and with, at least, two subject matter specialties? To be sure, they have to deal as teachers with young children only but these children of *anno* 1966 have their little heads ordered and furnished entirely differently than was the case when teachers' training seminaries were thought to be sufficient to do the job. These children have undergone an undisputable acceleration in physical and mental development. Moreover, the school reform has added to the elementary school an eighth grade consisting of youth age 15 or 16... These are children who from age two are exposed to television...[52]

Yet when the Sejm (Parliament) Commission on Education and Science (under the chairmanship of Deputy Andrzej Werblan) debated for the first time (May, 1966) the question of extending the period of training at the schools of teachers' education of the SN type from two to three years, it was pointed out (a) how difficult it is to find faculty to adequately educate future teachers during the two year training period, and (b) how acute is the shortage of educational manpower generally, but especially on the elementary school level. Fear was expressed that if the SN's were to extend their training period to three years (as they finally did) it would be harder to staff the faculty positions brought about by the extended training and, what is more important, delaying graduation from the SN's by one full year would badly affect the need for cadres at the elementary schools.[53]

In 1951 Władysław Ozga, then Department Head at the Ministry of Education, optimistically predicted:

> The introduction of 100,000 new teachers into our schools during the period of the next six years will change radically the ideological and political character of the teaching profession in Poland. In 1955 we will have 60 percent of teachers brought up in the schools built on the new ideological conception of People's Poland and they will be conscious defenders of the new regime. These teachers, supported by the experienced older teachers who have accepted the Marxist-Leninist ideology, will create together a united Marxist army of educators of the new Socialist generation in Poland.[54]

Did the hopes and the prediction materialize? A reading of the existing education literature in Poland leaves one with the impression that even a full decade later than the year Ozga foresaw as the time when a "desirable" state of affairs would be reached, the verdict passed both on the ideological commitment of the young teachers as well as on the state of their subject matter knowledge is rather negative in character. The reforms of 1966-67, in fact, were supposed to help remedy the existing situation. In terms of the organization and structure of teachers' education the reforms foresaw the eventual liquidation of the pedagogic _lycea_ -- with the exception perhaps of a very few which would continue to train cadres for work in preschool kindergartens. All prospective teachers would at the very least be expected to hold a _matura_, a certificate of completion of a _lyceum_ of general education. Effort would be made under the reform provisions to increase the number of Higher Schools of Pedagogy (_Wyższe Szkoły Pedagogiezne_, WSP) and to place greater stress on these rather than on the universities as higher educational training grounds of future teachers. Schools of teachers' education of the SN type would eventually be phased out but, in the meantime, should be staffed with holders of doctoral degrees. In other words, the degree, its possession or not, would become a measure, a crucial criterion in determining individual suitability and job assignment to a given level of the educational organization. However, within the Polish educational enterprise the possession of the doctorate in itself is not enough if a person wants to work and occupy a faculty position in an institution of higher learning. Candidates for academic faculty rank must undergo qualifying examinations in addition to having earned the degree, and the existing _higher_ Schools of Pedagogy have difficulties finding staff. How then would the SN's which are lower in prestige and status or the new, extended network of higher Schools of Pedagogy fill their vacancies? The reforms have further avoided a clear definition as to what is meant by "general" and "specialized" education -- does "general" mean "broad," or "multidisciplinary," or "interdisciplinary," whereas does "specialized" mean "narrow"? The sometimes vaguely expressed desire seems to be in the direction of training teachers who would be at once both "generalists" as well as subject matter "specialists." But what is meant by "generalism" is, as indicated, not very clear -- although there are some indications of vague notions of a person who would be a skilled, learned pedagog, with the gift of relating to students, and one also versed in sociology, philosophy, especially as it concerns education and ideology. It seems that what is ideally expected is someone both knowledgeable, naturally gifted, enthusiastic, devoted, who would be liked by all, especially the students, and would at the same time be wholeheartedly committed to the goals of the system so that he may be truly an effective agent of value socialization. Yet, at the same time, the pulls of the economy, the demands of growing industry, are pressing for greater (and narrower) specialization, often at the expense of the ideal qualities of "well roundedness." And again, while the economic and technical skill demands are spelled out with a great deal of clarity and precision, the ideology-related expectations remain veiled in clouds of ambiguity, more in the form of shy hints than fullbodied statements. The intriguing question is: should there be a conflict between the needs of the economy for "specialization" and the needs of the ideological-political culture (for "generalism" and commitment as the major criteria), which one will give? The question is important because it touches upon the lives of the individuals concerned and their professional security. The answer to the question is that the outcome of the conflict would probably vary from case to case, dependent upon general conditions and particular circumstances at the time of the conflict. One would suspect that the more technically specialized the person, and if the economy is in really desperate need for his services, his political deviations may be overlooked -- as long as these deviations do not really threaten the political system. Should the political system feel threatened, on the other hand, the needs of the economy would have to be relegated to inferior position. A teacher who was trained both in a humanistic discipline as well as in a technical specialization and who chose to teach only on his technical subject matter told this author in an in-depth interview: "To teach modern poetry I have to be both very good as well as careful. They read poetry and they have their judgments on the merits of the given poet. If my judgment should conflict with theirs I am in trouble. But organic chemistry -- they do not even understand the language much less what I am doing in my laboratory." Yet, after the riots of Spring, 1968, repercussions were felt among specialists in the sciences although to a much lesser extent than among those in the humanities or social sciences. The language of the latter is generally much easier understood and, moreover, the political elite thinks of itself as expert in these areas.

A member of a District (Województwo) Politburo of the United Polish Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee of the Party organization of one of the largest cities in Southern Poland, told this writer:

> You see, before the war the educator addressed himself at best only to the elite. At the present he communicates with a wider audience, with many publics. Socialism has given the Polish educator larger possibilities but this also means that he must bear larger responsibilities. He should bear the responsibility for the social effects of his work. Since people listen to him he should be concerned with the impact of his words, and weigh carefully their wisdom. I mean, he ought to consider the wisdom of his opinions, judgments, evaluations of all kinds. But at the same time it would be wrong for him to retreat into some kind of ivory tower -- it is his obligation to leave his study and transmit what he knows in simple, understandable language.

Q. Wouldn't this put him under a great deal of pressure?

A. Not necessarily. A teacher might choose to be in opposition to our own conception of the ideal social order; he may, if he desires, oppose our vision of the world. You would agree, though, that it would be hard to expect from a teacher holding such opinions a sense of political and social responsibility. You cannot expect of him a concern for the welfare of socialism. Quite the opposite. Yet, we, from our point of view, must look at the problem from the standpoint of the unlimited opportunities offered to education in forming the minds, the consciousness of young people, in molding new conditions, in building a just order. These opportunities place special responsibilities not only on political activists like myself but on all persons active in the public realm. Teachers should be especially sensitive to such matters as the freedom of nations, peace or war in the world, the fate of humanity...

Q. These are broad terms...

A. We are not exaggerating a bit when we say that a struggle is going on for the minds, the loyalties, of people. Educators must themselves define their place and role in the struggle and they must do it in accordance with their own consciousness and sense of responsibility. Now, we are not concerned with mere declarations of loyalty -- this is nothing. What we want is a real sense of responsibility, that is, actual involvement in the problems of concern to the whole nation. A teacher simply cannot stand on the sidelines. In matters of culture, and education is part of it, you know, the Party sees its role primarily as that of an inspirer. It obviously cannot do the whole job.

Q. What about the person who agrees principally but sees the problem differently?

A. If he is honest about it he will offer his solutions as alternative. Many teachers are active in the Party, serve as public functionaries. You see, the importance given to a nation's educational system, its influence, is often the measure of that nation's strength. You will agree with me that under People's Poland the country has emerged from its provincialism, parochialism, and regression (zacofanie). Even our enemies agree that Poland has changed to the better and its role and importance in Europe and in the world has grown. No need to go into that. This again places new obligations on the educational system. Many in Europe and in the world -- Poland, you know, is helping many new nations in all parts of the world -- are looking to us for new directions.

> Q. Might not the responsibility you speak of be too much for the individual teacher? Wouldn't he feel intimidated, restricted, as a result?
>
> A. If I am understanding you, the question is whether the new social responsibilities would not hamper creativity and inventiveness in the sense, let's say, of seeking new educational avenues, scientific experimentation. Personally I think that the opposite is true. The good teacher, that is, the teacher who wants to be effective, must address himself to the important questions of the day. He therefore is forced to seek new means of expression, of communication so that he may penetrate the minds of his pupils. You always must bear in mind that the deep cultural revolution our country is undergoing creates new popular demands. There are new esthetic and social criteria. The one who wants to communicate effectively -- and it is all the same if he is a writer, an actor, an artist or a teacher -- must constantly work at improving his tools, his workshop, so to speak. As a result, he must experiment with new forms of communication.[55]

The assessments in the existing literature, the constant soul-searching and continuous dialogue of criticism and self-criticism in the press, the organizational and structural reforms, are meant to develop new tools, new and, hopefully, more effective forms of communication in the realm of the educational system. Yet, at the same time, while new values and criteria are established, old patterns persist. Whether the new, revised or only modified educational forms constitute real departures from the "provincial" and "parochial" past and, more importantly, if they are capable of producing "effective" teachers with a "sense of responsibility" -- that is, if they could serve to overcome the obstacles of the old political culture and develop cadres of effective socializers into the new order -- remains to be seen.

5. The Young Teacher in the Social Structure.

The stress on education as a vehicle for social advancement and the input of effort, time and intellect required to become a professionally functioning part of the educational enterprise -- in addition to the traditional impoverished gentry-related values accorded to learning as compared to manual work or commerce which are viewed as "undignified" -- has produced in Poland an esteem scale in which teachers rate rather high. In fact, university professors and teachers occupy similar positions on the prestige scale among residents of the capital and among rural Poles (see Tables IV and V).

Table IV

Esteem Ratings of Occupations and Positions by Warsaw Residents*

No. of sequence	Occupation	Scale Value**
1.	University professor	1.22
2.	Physician	1.44
3.	Teacher	1.71
4.	Mechanical engineer	1.78
5.	Airman	1.83
6.	Lawyer	1.97
7.	Agronomist	1.97
8.	Minister of government cabinet	2.07
9.	Journalist	2.13
10.	Skilled steel worker	2.18
11.	Skilled lathe operator	2.27
12.	Priest	2.35
13.	Nurse	2.38
14.	Factory foreman	2.53
15.	Bookkeeper/Accountant	2.54
16.	Self-employed tailor	2.70
17.	Self-employed locksmith/steamfitter	2.73
18.	Office supervisor	2.77
19.	Private farmer	2.78
20.	Commissioned officer	2.79
21.	Private storekeeper	3.01
22.	Railway conductor	3.18
23.	Militiaman (policeman)	3.21
24.	Office clerk	3.43

(continued)

Table IV (continued)

No. of sequence	Occupation	Scale Value**
25.	Office secretary	3.50
26.	Store clerk	3.59
27.	Unskilled building worker	3.95
28.	Charwoman in office	4.08
29.	Unskilled worker on state farm	4.16

*Source: Adam Sarapata, "Stratification and Social Mobility in Poland," Empirical Sociology in Poland, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw) PWN, Polish Scientific Publishers, 1966), p. 41.

**Scale: 1-very high esteem; 2-high; 3-average; 4-low; 5-very low.

Table V

Esteem Ratings of Occupations and Positions by Agriculturally Employed Residents of Rural Areas in Poland*

Occupation/Position	Median Point**
University professor	1.51
Minister of government cabinet	1.81
Teacher	1.94
Physician	2.03
Industrial engineer	2.08
Priest	2.14
Skilled miner	2.20
Agronomist	2.25
Commissioned army officer	2.37
Skilled lathe operator	2.63
Office supervisor	2.65
Factory foreman	2.69
Private middle-range farmer	2.82
State farm director	2.90
Self-employed locksmith	2.97
Self-employed tailor	3.02
Office clerk	3.21
Private storekeeper	3.22
Office secretary	3.32
Unskilled building worker	3.63
Unskilled agricultural worker on state farm	3.79

*Source: Adam Sarapata, "Stratification and Social Mobility in Poland," Empirical Sociology in Poland, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw: PWN, Polish Scientific Publishers, 1966), p. 42.

**Scale: 1-very high; 2-high; 3-medium; 4-low; 5-very low.

Tables IV and V would indicate that, generally, popular esteem in Polish society is related to the length of time required to train for a particular occupation. But although Adam Sarapata does not point it out, it also relates in a way to a traditional class structure: thus, for example, while the army officer's prestige position is relatively low for a country which historically has honored dash and valor and the romanticism associated with patriotic service and heroic death (it occupies position 20 in the rating of Varsovians and 9 in the rural ranking), it should be borne in mind that the officer of the contemporary Polish army is often of working class and peasant background who settled on the officer corps as a career after obtaining his education. However, he carries with him, in a sense, the stigma of his preceding class background. On the other hand, teaching was traditionally the profession of intelligentsia youth but relatively easy for children of the lower socio-economic classes to enter. Similarly, the low esteem accorded militiamen (police) might be related to the predominance of persons of "lower" class background, urban as well as rural, among the uniformed men in most visible militia posts (beat, traffic, etc.).

Sociologists in East Europe, including Poland, frequently maintain that the prestige hierarchy in "socialist" society is less related to factors of income than is the case in countries of a free-enterprise economy. This contention is in some ways borne out by comparative occupational prestige studies which indicate that in such countries as the United States, West Germany, England, New Zealand, and Japan corporate and industrial directors and managers score rather high.[56] On the other hand, physicians are rated extremely high in societies of either "socialist" or "capitalist" economic system and such much less lucrative occupations (relative to industrial-managerial incomes) as those of university professor or scientist rate high in esteem regardless of the ideological orientation of the particular system. Moreover, in the Soviet Union the esteem enjoyed by factory managers -- functional equivalents to corporate directors in the United States or factory directors in West Germany or Great Britain -- is higher than that enjoyed by other occupations (including engineers, army officers, and teachers) in that country, which would indicate again a lack of relationship between a system's ideology and whether or not occupational ranking is necessarily related to income.[57] It seems that among the highly prestigious occupations, every system has those which do not necessarily carry a corresponding income tag -- e.g., judges, high government officials, members of the clergy in nonsocialist societies, and others. On the basis of such observations Inkeles and Rossi suggest that perhaps differences in prestige rankings are related to levels of industrialization and industrial "maturity" rather than to ideology or socio-economic system.[58] As far as teachers are concerned (other than university professors) their relative prestige might be related to the level of industrialization and technological sophistication within a given system, with the prestige of the teaching occupation decreasing as the level of industrialization and technology increases. A comparison between the prestige of the teachers in Poland and that in the United States, West Germany, Great Britain, New Zealand, Japan, and the U.S.S.R. would indicate the validity of the above contention since these are societies of diverse ideologies and socio-economic systems but with different levels of industrialization, with Poland industrially inferior to the others (see Table VI). In countries of high industrialization and technological development, the non-university teacher and educator may indeed be viewed as something of a "hired hand" by the community.

Table VI

Comparative Prestige Position of Teachers in the USA, West Germany, Great Britain, New Zealand, Japan, USSR and Poland with Occupation Immediately Preceding and Following the Prestige of Teachers in Each Country*

Country	Sequence Position of Teachers	Rank or Score**	Occupation Immediately Preceding	Occupation Immediately Following
United States	16	78	Building Contractor	Farmer
West Germany	9	11	Army Major	Farmer
Great Britain	9	10.8	Builder	Farmer
New Zealand	9	10.3	Builder	Farmer
Japan	10	11.7	Office Clerk	Small Farmer
U.S.S.R.	7	55	Army Officer	Chairman of Collective Farm
Poland	3	1.8	Physician	Mechanical Engineer

*Sources: Alex Inkeles and Peter H. Rossi, "National Comparisons of Occupational Prestige" in Sociology: The Progress of a Decade, Seymour Martin Lipset and Neil J. Smelser, eds. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), pp. 513-514; Adam Sarapata, "Stratification and Social Mobility in Poland" in Empirical Sociology in Poland, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw: PWN, Polish Scientific Publishers, 1966), pp. 41-42.

**Scores: 100(very high)-- in case of USA and USSR; Rank: 1 (very high) -- (Great Britain, New Zealand, Poland, Japan).

However, the ranking similarity between Great Britain and New Zealand and the esteem accorded teachers in Warsaw as well as in the rural and agricultural areas of Poland (with only slightly higher ranking given teachers in the villages) would indicate that in addition to levels of industrialization and technology an important factor in rating the relative prestige of a given occupation (including that of teaching) is the nature of the political culture and the traditionally established patterns of prestige. In the industrially developed countries teaching ranks only ahead of the non-industrial pursuit of farming but in Poland it rates ahead of skilled mechanical engineering. In Poland teaching also ranks ahead of other industry and management-related occupations in esteem and certainly does not correspond to income. In terms of income those working in the private sector of the economy (e.g., self-employed tailors, artisans, locksmiths, farmers, storekeepers) rate above those employed in the public sector, even if such public employment involves learning, a diploma or degree. Yet, only in the rural areas does a private farmer rate in terms of prestige ahead (and only slightly so) of a state farm director but even there private entrepreneurs in non-agricultural occupations rate below the manager of the state-owned farm. Although official Polish statistics do not provide income figures for those engaged in the private sector of the economy, it is the generally prevailing public opinion in the country that such incomes far exceed those in the public sector. Private entrepreneurs in the urban areas live on a visibly higher consumption level than the rest of the population, enjoy many of the amenities usually unobtainable to others in Poland. The rest home of the Self-Employed Artisans in the mountain resort of Zakopane is indeed imposing, features a kidney-shaped swimming pool, a parking lot which is always occupied with expensive, foreign-made cars, a bar, etc. The unrest of March-April, 1968, brought in its wake a campaign not only against "disloyal" intellectuals, restive students, not only against "culturally alien, incompletely Polonized" persons of Jewish origin, but also against the so-called "privateers" (priwaciarze) whose incomes set them so glaringly apart from the rest of the population, generating envy and making the group as a whole a convenient political target. A short story written in Warsaw during the months February-March, 1969, tells of a teacher who loses his job for political deviancy in a secondary school of general education, refuses re-assignment to an elementary school (he holds a doctorate in history) and who is, subsequently, approached by a former student of his who is engaged in private business and in need of a "trusted" associate. The former student-turned-businessman says to the teacher:

> '...Between us, do you always have to be in such a terrible occupation? They don't provide one with a suitable job so let them dance with the dogs; you should not let them get you down, professor. This is not a country in which one can perish from hunger, it suffices to learn how to put a nail into the wall and immediately you can earn more than a person with two doctorates. Here they give a premium for ignorance, don't you understand? The duller a fellow the more chances he has. Thinking is forbidden. If they notice that you have your own mind, your own conceptions, you are immediately suspect. And if, God forbid, you want to bring about improvement -- from such desires people elsewhere build political careers for themselves but here you end up behind bars. Therefore, people pretend to be more stupid than they really are and you should do the same. And, for God's sake, don't let on that you are honest. You will never accomplish anything that way because they are afraid of the honest ones, nothing can be done with those. It's better to admit to intelligence than to honesty. The colleagues can always figure -- well, intelligent but a swine. ...'
>
> 'I am sufficiently stupid...not to pretend intelligence. It is worse with that matter of honesty.'
>
> 'In this case it should not interfere any. ...You see, I am involved in a new business venture, the manufacture of poplin pajamas, and I need a trusted person. So they won't steal. You will earn two or three times as much as in your school. ... In fact, you will eventually be grateful to those who kicked you. ... I

> know several who landed well after they lost their positions. ... After a year you will write a humble letter with thanks to the Central Committee (KaCe) in which you will state that due to the farsighted policy of the Party you have turned from a state of hunger and nakedness into a person of means...'
>
> ...
>
> '...you are forgetting that I am a teacher, a historian.'
>
> 'So what? If they don't want you!'[59]

Thus, although official income figures for the private sector are not available, it is clear that it is considerably higher than incomes within the public sector. Yet the higher income levels have no relationship to the social status of the "privateers" which is lower than that of low income teachers -- so much so that the fictional hero of the short story, faced with unemployment and economic deprivation (he is forced to sell his worldly belongings, including his cherished books), refuses the offer, financially tempting as it may be. In the particular case the teacher is also fighting a principle, of course.

Although there is no great differentiation in the salary scale of employees in the public sector of the economy -- they are all rather low relative to consumer prices -- teachers' incomes (except for those in higher education) even within this sector are on the median to lower end of the scale but with no effect on their prestige position which is weighted on the esteem scale in favor of those in education. (See Tables VII and VIII)

Table VII

Average Monthly Gross Salaries Received in 1965 by Full-Time Employees of Public Sector of the Economy.*

Rank	Branch of Economy/Occupation	Average Monthly Gross Salary (in złotys)	Total No. Employed at Each Educational Level and Type
1	Building Construction	2,356.00	
2	Public Administration, including Justice	2,178.00	
3	Industry	2,175.00	
4	Communal-Municipal Housing	1,830.00	
5	Finance and Insurance	1,829.00	
6	Education, Science and Culture	1,780.00	
	a) Higher Education	3,202.00	29,522
	b) Teachers' Training	2,999.00	4,346
	c) Vocational Education	2,603.00	41,832
	d) Secondary General Education	2,376.00	15,973
	e) Art Education	2,346.00	2,365
	f) Elementary General Education	1,730.00	173,128
	g) Pre-School Education	1,393.00	21,789
7	Trade	1,699.00	
8	Agriculture	1,618.00	
9	Health, Welfare and Physical Culture	1,543.00	
10	Forestry	1,471.00	

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*Sources: Główny Urzad Statystyczny, *1966 Rocznik Statystyczny* (Warsaw: Vol. XXVI, 1966), p. 495; Główny Urząd Statystyczny Polskiej Rzeczpospolitej Ludowej, *Rocznik Statystyczny Szkolnictwa 1944/45-1966/67, Series "Occupational Yearbooks,"* No. 7 (Warsaw: 1967), p. 39.

The bulk of the Polish teaching population is employed on the level of the elementary school of general education, colloquially called "the basic" (*podstawówka*) -- in 1965 a total of 173,128 persons were employed on this level, followed in number by the vocational schools (41,832 employees). However, the total number of employees also includes administrative-office personnel on the one hand, and custodial help on the other. While in 1965 the average gross monthly pay for custodial and maintenance personnel was almost minimal and *below the average* for salaries in the public sector (from 824 złotys a month on the preschool level to 1,246 złotys a month on the level of higher education), the average *monthly gross salaries of actual teaching staffs and educational administrators seems to conform to the average of salaries paid in education, science and culture* with no appreciable differences in the income levels of teachers and administrators. Yet, while most Polish teachers, being employed on the elementary school level, are poorly paid, there is a definite hierarchical structure with respect to pay among teachers in general, with *those working in the field of higher education constituting an elite*. Thus, excluding the private sector of the economy and *considering only those employed in the public sector, the claim that prestige does not correspond to income loses much substantiability*. In fact, in the sector completely under the government's control, *at least as far as education is concerned the financial rewards go to those of the highest prestige within the educational hierarchy* (e.g., university professors whose average monthly gross salary in 1965 was 3,202 złotys as compared to 1,798 złotys for those employed on the general education level, both elementary and secondary).

The custodial personnel of institutions of education often engages in "moonlighting" with cleaning women not infrequently working as domestics and cooks in the homes of the "better off," including the homes of university professors. As a rule husbands and wives work, contributing both their salaries to the maintenance of the family. Teachers are also entitled, according to seniority, to certain monetary rewards and premiums which are distributed either individually (in recognition of teaching excellence or special services) or to a teaching *collective* of a particular school. In the latter case, the principal or director distributes the additional "bounty" in conjunction with the Pedagogic Council of the given school, according to some scale of preference which may include political as well as colleagial considerations. Principals and directors receive *additional* monetary allowances. Teachers of elementary and secondary level may earn further additional income by undertaking special, extra-curricular chores (e.g., program development, summer work) but most often they engage themselves as private tutors for students deficient in a certain subject but anxious to pass entrance examinations first to the secondary school of their choice and second to an institution of higher learning. The teacher in rural areas often supplements his income by cultivating a small vegetable plot, or either himself raising some small farm animals or receiving from parent-farmers an occasional chicken, pig, etc. in return for services. Generally, while lacking in cultural and educational opportunities, life in the rural areas is somewhat easier materially than in the cities although rental is minimal in both. Unlike the teacher, especially of elementary level, the economically favored university professor has greater opportunities to further increase his income through involvement in professionally related activities -- e.g., research, part time work in an academic institute, publication of texts, scholarly books and articles, lectures, etc. If he is of sufficient prestige and a full or corresponding member of the Academy he receives additional supplementary remuneration.

Generally, however, regardless of level of educational employment, the purchasing power of the teacher, as Table VIII would indicate, is rather limited.

Table VIII

Cost of Select Consumer Goods and Services in Poland During 1965 (in złotys)*

Article	Unit of Weight, measurement, etc.**	Price
Bread	1 kilo	3.50
Meat (pork)	1 kilo	40.00
Meat (beef, boneless)	1 kilo	36.00
Meat (veal, boneless)	1 kilo	40.00
Sausage (dry, "myśliwska")	1 kilo	70.00
Ham (boiled, with fat)	1 kilo	70.00
Milk	1 liter	2.70
Coffee	1 kilo	222.00
Tea ("Ulung")	50 grams	7.00
Eggs (A-1)	1 dozen	31.20
Toilet soap	1 cake	11.00
Cigarettes ("Giewont")	20 pieces, 1 pack	4.60
Matches	1 box, 48 pieces	.40
Vodka (premium "Jarzębiak")	0.5 liter	53.00
Men's suit (ready made, 100% wool)	2 piece ensemble	1,390.00
Men's shirt (poplin)	1 piece	156.00

(Continued)

(Continued)

Men's shirt (cotton)	1 piece	75.00
Men's socks (nylon)	1 pair	32.00
Men's shoes (mass produced)	1 pair	266.00
Men's shoes (custom made)	1 pair	670.00
Women's shoes (mass produced)	1 pair	310.00
Children's shoes (leather)	1 pair	136.00
Bed mattress	1 piece	2,150.00
Refrigerator (small)	1 unit	3,000.00
Radio (transistor, domestic)	1 unit	1,200.00
TV (17 inch screen)	1 unit	8,200.00
Men's bicycle	1 unit	992.00
Automobile (smallest and cheapest, "Syrena")	1 unit	72,000.00
Men's wrist watch (Soviet made)	1 piece	700.00
Light bulb (60 watts)	1 piece	7.50
School notebook	16 pages	.55
Services:		
Men's haircut		7.00
Rent	per 1 square meter per month	3.00

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*Source: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 1966 Rocznik Statystyczny (Warsaw: Vol. XXVI, 1966), pp. 508-510.

**Explanation of units of weight or measurement: 1 kilo -- 2.2 pounds; 1 liter -- 11/10ths of a quart; 1 meter -- 11/10th yard.

Some of the above consumer items are either not readily available at all times and in all places or would require an expenditure of time (i.e., waiting in line) which the teacher can hardly afford. A teacher of elementary or even secondary level with a family is barely able to purchase some durable consumer goods, even with his wife working, a child allotment, and various premiums. Circa 54.2 percent of his income is allocated for food -- roughly the same as the expenditure on food by a manual worker. However, the intelligentsia worker spends about 6.3 percent of his annual income per person on matters of hygiene and health and 7.9 percent on culture, education, sport and tourism while the manual worker in the public sector of the economy spends on these items only 4.9 and 6.0 percent annually per person.

As a result of the above income discrepancies in the general field of education, its lower levels (i.e., elementary and secondary but primarily the former) tend to be "femininized." The "feminization" of the profession is already discernable at the institutions training teachers for the lower level. Thus, a report from a Teachers' Training School of the SN type in Ciechanów shows an enrollment in 1966 of 370 females as against 131 males. To many of them acceptance to that institution constituted a "last chance," as it were, for higher education and an alternative to their primary choice which in some cases included a Higher School of Agriculture or even a Technikum. Some of these SN students could not gain entry into the institution of their first preference while others found other obstacles on their road -- such as nonexistance of a particular school within commuting distance, etc. "No one in our town treats the SN seriously," said one student.[60] But these attitudes are not limited to the particular SN in Ciechanów. One teacher told this writer: "When I was advised by my secondary school advisor to apply to a SN I felt my eyes filling with tears. The teacher in school always used to tell the weaker student, 'Nothing will come of you anyway -- you will probably land at an SN.'" Yet, despite complaints and memories of derogation it is precisely the teachers' training school which serves as a realistic possibility to many of ever being able to enter the professions and the intelligentsia. Most recruits are either intellectually not on par with those entering the universities or the Higher Schools of Pedagogy or they come from backgrounds where poverty or lack of connections is mixed with hope and aspiration for the children's advancement. One SN director told this investigator that most of the students in his school come from "financially poorly situated homes." Many of the students have to earn an income during vacations in order to continue during the regular academic year.

Finally the young SN graduate emerges from the institution which he considers (and perceives others as so considering) a "stepchild" of Polish education. His chance of attractive job assignment after graduation is slim in comparison with graduates from other higher educational training institutions. If as a student he had to work to supplement a meager stipend and allowance he often, as a teacher, has to undertake extracurricular jobs to make ends meet. He carries a stigma of failure, of being worse than others, even within the field of education, both in terms of prestige and of income. Janusz Rolicki characterizes them as "somewhat disoriented, lacking in self confidence, in faith in themselves, but not in goodwill."[61]

Thus the status of the teacher, especially the young teacher and particularly the graduate of a training institution of the SN type, is rather ambiguous. On the one hand he is a member of a profession which carries a great deal of prestige and much is expected of him. On the other, he is underpaid, perceived as being either idealistically naive or, alternatively, a failure. On November 20 when Teachers' Day is celebrated he finds himself at the center of public attention and official praise but the reality of life throughout the rest of the year holds a great deal less attraction. He often finds himself in a town where he is a stranger and is made to feel unwanted by a local administrative and political power structure which views him as a meddling intruder with whom one must cope, whom one has to bear with but, at the same time, keep at a distance. Zbigniew Kwiatkowski reports instances where physical abuse against teachers by small town, well-connected "hooligans" go unpunished by the authorities, including the local militia.[62]

To upgrade the SN graduate's prestige and self-esteem it was recommended that he be enabled to continue his education at the more prestigious Higher Schools of Education while employed in the school system. This would constitute a breakthrough for many in the obstacles erected towards professional advancement and the all-important higher status. It would even provide the student entering upon his first year at the SN with greater hope and he will associate the teaching profession with further, post SN opportunities thereby making teaching itself more attractive. As is, many feel blocked, caught as it were in a web composed of strands combining inferior social background, inferior elementary and secondary educational opportunities, a bad start with numerous repercussions on the occupational road. Rolicki writes:

> Teachers' Training (SN) will probably continue as schools for the poorest of the rural youth. At the same time they cease to be institutions to be avoided by graduates of the four-year secondary school of general education (czwordwka) who come here lured by the possibility of quickly obtaining a profession, and perhaps of eventually continuing with their studies.[63]

The young teacher who after graduation from his training institution, of whatever type, has made up his mind or is inclined by personality to perform his job conscientiously, to become involved in socially and officially approved activities, who does not stir up "political waves" and votes at all meetings he attends in the expected manner and pays proper respect to authority, may even have hopes for a bright future in the profession. If he doesn't meet these behavioral expectations the repercussions may be many and varied, including social ostracism, re-assignment to inferior posts or inferior locations, and, in the case of a teacher with a university degree, demotion to teach at the elementary level with corresponding pay.

Chapter III

The Teacher in the Mill of Change: The Individual Under Cross-Pressure

1. Patterns of Change and Continuity

In the Western territories acquired after World War II and in the City of Gdańsk, names of previous German owners are visible through the dull paint intended to cover them up forever; in the cities the old buildings still bear scars of past battles. Yet, old cities and towns were recovered from the holocaust, new settlements have sprung up, high rise apartment houses and office buildings. In the Old Town Square in Warsaw the fronts of the ancient bourgeois homes, the facades, were restored, meticulously replicated, and today resemble exactly their appearance of pre-war days. Only on some buildings plaques were put up to commemorate a revolutionary event which took place behind these walls, such as a conspiratorial meeting in which Feliks Dzierzyński, the impoverished Polish nobleman from Lithuania who joined the revolutionary movement and organized the first units of the Soviet secret police, participated. And while the house fronts were restored to their ancient appearance, modern conveniences were installed within.

But ruins of the war, houses reminiscent of decayed, broken teeth, nestle within sight of the multistoried post-war constructed Palace of Culture and Science, and in the vicinity of Cracow, horsedrawn carts amble on muddy streets in the shadows of the new and imposing steel complex and workers' settlement of Nowa Huta. Communities which were almost totally Jewish prior to World War II -- except for the few local government officials and perhaps the local pharmacist -- are now completely "Polonized," so much so in fact that young Poles born after the War would not recognize a Jewish face nor a Jewish name. Old Jewish cemeteries lie in ruins, the old Jewish houses of worship have been converted into warehouses (as in Pinczów) or cinemas (as in Kazimierz), and old gravestones with Hebrew markings pave the sidewalks here and there. Yet anti-Jewish jokes of various degrees of subtlety persist in the popular folklore.

The cities are compact, integrated with green areas, business and office buildings adjoining residences and entertainment centers. But this is as it always was. Yet there are differences: banners, slogans condemning the war in Vietnam and extolling the "eternal teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin" hang strung across streets where before the war in the middle of the night and as a demonstration of defiance a member of the underground Communist youth organization dared to fling a little red flag over the overhanging streetcar cables. The members of the Party (now renamed, after formal merger with the socialists) are now in power. But the biggest differences are in the people, particularly the young. Some of the differences, however, have nothing to do with the changes in the political character of the country but rather with the changing cultural patterns induced by population shifts, industrialization, technology, the mass media. Some older people resent these changes. One older educator complained to this writer:

> A. You notice the new housing structures lack courtyards and communal basements. Their place was taken by a neighborhood club or even a community concert hall. Many do not like these alterations. There was something cozy about the old courtyard in which children used to play and in which housewives aired their beddings. There was a feeling of community despite the garbage which stank in the summer heat. But you felt secure within the courtyard. The new neighborhood clubs and new cinemas are somehow sterile. Even the new coffee and tea houses are not the same as they used to be. In the old corner tavern a government bureaucrat and a worker met for plebeian entertainment, they served as a retreat for the menfolk. These kinds of little joys are slowly disappearing.

Q. But it is still hard to get a seat in a restaurant and I notice that Saturday nights and Sunday mornings the coffee houses are full...

A. The old habits are vanishing, though. The youth does not know billiard, domino, or chess. What occupies them now is the state lottery, the vain hope of winning a car. The youth drinks. The young generation has retreated into passive modes of entertainment such as movies, radio, television. Young people shy away from active sports, from feeling the muscles, from wandering off into the countryside on foot. Now, if you want to get them into the country, you have to provide them with transportation.

Q. I saw many busses belonging to schools and factories, especially in the mountain areas.

A. Sure. City people who before the war never dreamt of seeing the mountains or the sea are now being bussed to these places in organized excusion groups. They are being brought en masse to a beautiful spot, told to admire it for ten minutes and then rushed back because the driver wants to get home or because the bus is needed. It does not touch them deeply. Did you notice how dead the city is at night? They work during the day and at night all they know is how to sleep.

The newspapers feature advertisements of medical practitioners engaged in private practice after having put in some time on public health duty. Most of these advertisements concern skin and venereal disease because people are still reluctant to seek treatment for these ailments in public health clinics. Women also go to private physicians for abortions because they are embarrassed to speak of their problem to the public health nurse or secretary with others waiting in line and listening. Birth control pills are easily obtainable. Old fashioned puritans and Party moralists alike decry the ease with which young people engage in sexual relations and bemoan the passing of a more romantic age in which pre-marital romance was limited to holding hands, occasional kisses and expressions of platonic admiration. They decry miniskirts and bikinis and the "relaxed" speech of today's youth in which words referring to sex and sex relations as well as to toilet-related functions appear with frequency in casual conversation. Such words even appear in print in various youth publications (e.g., Kontrapunkty, a youth supplement to Kurier Lubelski and in other publications). Moralists also look askance at young girls and women who "moonlight" -- after their regular work hours -- at prostitution. Some of these girls view these extra-curricular activities as manifestations of "emancipation" while others engage in prostitution to supplement a meager income and because they may have to support a child born out of wedlock or after they have been separated or divorced. Masculine rumor in Warsaw has it that Hotel Polonia in that city is the haunt of Warsaw University coeds, majoring in the arts and drama, on the lookout for occasional male companionship; these girls are referred to as "polonistki," a designation which would normally describe females specializing in Polish language and literature. The more professional prostitutes frequent the vicinity of coffee-houses of the hotels used by foreign tourists. Marital separation is more prevalent than formal divorce not so much because of traditional Church resistance to the latter but because the cost of divorce proceedings are so prohibitive, running into thousands of złotys. Although the Polish divorce rate lags behind that of other East European countries, notably Czechoslovakia, it has nevertheless increased over the years, with Warsaw residents leading. In 1964, for example, there were 15 divorces per 10,000 residents in the capital.[1]

Television, foreign films and tourists have introduced Polish youth to foreign fads and styles. Foreign films or appearances of foreign artists -- regardless of quality -- enjoy great popularity and tickets to these become black market commodities. The disappearance of manners (including respect for elders among the young) is being blamed on foreign influences and styles. Someone complained in the popular Życie Warszawy:

> Streetcar No. 19. Daytime, never mind the hour. Three soft seats are occupied by three youngsters of about 19 years of age. They are returning from witnessing some sporting match. The legs spread wide, sporting cowboy boots, constantly combing their long hair. At one of the stations a really old lady enters the streetcar. She stands next to the youth. Another lady requests that the youngsters free a seat for the old woman. They reply with gay laughter and answer pointedly that they paid each 20 groszy for a ticket and have thus a right to sit. They do not relinquish their places.
>
> The other passengers react perhaps somewhat simplistically. You know -- they say -- these are the longhaired, the fellows in jeans.
>
> The three young people are angry. They shout that oldsters are immune to fashion, know nothing.
>
> Well, old people were always skeptical about novelties in life. Nevertheless, they do know how to appreciate good behavior, courtesy. These are useful traits in life and can be useful even for gentlemen in jeans, even with fashionable long hair or cowboy boots. Besides, fashions come and go, good behavior stays.[2]

Much of the resentment against foreign fashions, styles and fads is an expression of the puritanism, provincialism, and morality of a social system which -- despite an ideology of social experimentation -- is committed to traditional and national values. Whereas there is a verbal commitment to change and progress on the one hand, on the other hand there is a fear that with change something very unique and precious in the national culture will be lost. The value attached to work, hard labor, thrift, associated in the West with Protestant ethic -- the notion of sin attached somehow to leisure -- never took root in Poland although efforts are being made to inculcate appreciation of these values in the population. After the hardships of war and the period of Stalinism, the traditional inclination to view the good life as a life of leisure has gained renewed emphasis with all the expected consequences to the economy. But leisure, the art of "slacking off," is one of the few luxuries and joys available and free of charge. They feel inferior to the West primarily because they see the world of the West as one of comfort, leisure, convenience and gadgetry, not because of any ideological reasons. Foreigners and Poles who return from abroad appear glamorous not only because they have come from far places but primarily because they sport well-tailored suits, shiny cars, and have money -- foreign currencies which go a long way on the local economy. Many will denounce the West for dehumanization, a lack of warmth in human relations, many have absorbed and come to believe the official portrayal of the West and especially of the United States but at the same time they envy those who can enjoy the benefits of Western technology and the Western economy. Leszek Wysznacki writes:

> One could say much about people who pay homage on the altar of the fatherland and of socialism but are engaged in shameful treason. The apostles who praise and recognize only what is alien and Western and live not badly at all in what they call "this country" on the sweat of the workingmen.
>
> ... We know those who have a mouthful of noble phrases but when traveling abroad, for example, behave like beggars. Rushing after gadgets and trivia they lose all self-respect and dignity. Some of those would talk just to anybody there and defame with their speech their own country, the authorities, and see in such behavior a mark of proper conduct, believing that it testifies as to their broad horizons and liberalism. I know personally of the case of the family of a well-placed official of the Polish People's Republic (PRL) who were proud because their daughter married...a Frenchman. The fact that the Frenchman turned out to be the son of an ordinary shopkeeper in Paris did not seem to bother the socialist pride of this high Polish official.
>
> Ordinary folk must be embarrassed by the current fashion of sending abroad during vacations Polish youth, mainly girls, to serve as domestics in the homes of various foreign bourgeois families and storekeepers. Among those who leave in such manner are often children of persons occupying high social positions and enjoying a great deal of respect in our socialist country. These trips,

> allegedly to "learn a foreign language," are further being justified and rationalized by saying that any kind of work is virtuous and does not shame the individual doing it. ...
>
> ... Moreover, one does not have to travel abroad to witness this kind of behavior towards foreigners and the admiration felt for everything alien. Just consider the speed with which Radio Free Europe broadcasts about Poland are spread, the policies with respect to translations from foreign literature, the way foreign successes are received, the eagerness with which some vie for overseas stipends and fellowships.[3]

The above lengthy citation taken from an article published in a popular magazine, not known as being "political," catering to a mass audience, reflects rather vividly what may very well be a prevalent mood. A mood in which national conservatism is mingled with symbols of socialist ideology but in which, at the same time, traditional impoverished gentry values appear (such as snobbish attitude towards the middle class occupation of storekeeper, the view that work as a domestic is somehow below one's dignity). However, while using socialist symbols and adhering to traditional gentry values, Wysznacki also appeals to the mentality of the Polish middle and working classes which adhere to patriotism regardless of whether the country is governed by Communists or not, are suspicious of the world outside, feel at the same time both inferior and superior to foreigners (who are perceived as being technologically advanced but lacking in culture and noble tradition). Moreover, the Polish middle class (presently composed of private entrepreneurs, relatively well-to-do industrial managers, Party and governmental bureaucrats) as well as the Polish working class have, as Czesław Miłosz points out, assimilated the old gentry values.[4] However, unlike the members of the old gentry who knew foreign languages, traveled abroad and conversed in French and enjoyed Paris, and looked down at the lower classes at home, the members of the new middle class and working class are culturally and nationalistically introspective. Socialist morality in their vocabulary becomes synonymous with traditional, even Catholic, morality verbalized in both socialist as well as traditional national symbols. A well-to-do private entrepreneur from Poznań, a city of traditional nationalism, told this writer: "Gomułka may be a Communist but he is our own, a Polish Communist. One should never defame his own country."

Yet the youth, especially the urban youth but also that of the rural areas, while suspect of the West from the standpoint of "socialist morality" is at the same time also curious about the world and given to experimentation with "things foreign" (e.g., in dress and language, in music and literature; the guitar has replaced the traditional mandolin in popularity). More so than the oldsters the young Pole is influenced by the mass media, including television, film, popular foreign literature, the semi-sensational magazines, the radio which carries foreign news and music. They are also more eager than their elders to travel abroad not so much to acquire goods but to learn and experience. It is rather significant that Mira Zimińska who heads the famous Polish folk song and dance ensemble "*Mazowsze*" finds recruiting fresh talent from among the village youth a discouraging matter. "Today's village youth," she complained, "is already too much taken by mannerism and too much absorbed with 'big beat'."[5]

But while curious about the outside world, while imitating foreign fashions and styles, while having replaced folk songs and folk dances with rock and roll, the youth nevertheless remains in many respects within traditional culture both in work habits and in style of leisure activities.

Among these traditional activities is a passion for consumption of vodka, a passion shared by old and young alike which seriously interferes with work discipline. On country roads one comes across drunks weaving in the middle of the highway in the middle of a workday. Booths dispensing beer operate on streetcorners in provincial towns. Saturday night dances end in brawls and funerals topped by a stypa involving some drinks and snacks may end in another funeral. The annual consumption of alcoholic drinks averages 4.1 litres per capita, exceeding the pre-war norm which was one litre per capita. The expenditure on alcoholic beverages per household in 1965 exceeded the total expenditure on food by 15 percent. The investment in alcohol exceeded by 2 percent the investment in such basic staples of the national diet as bread and all other grain and flour products, and only meat and dairy products (both expensive) took slightly more out of the family and personal budget. The per capita annual expenditure on vodka approximates the gross average monthly salary of an employee in the public sector of the economy -- i.e., 1,850 zlotys. Alcoholism is frequently referred to in Poland as a national disease and it affects all strata of the population. It penetrates the student population including those on the elementary school level. A survey performed by the Capital Committee Against Alcoholism among students of 15 Warsaw schools (elementary, secondary, and vocational) found that 73 percent of the boys (of a total number of 2,652) regularly drink beer, 70 percent imbibe wine, and 32 percent vodka. Among the 1,040 girls in the sample, 52 percent drink wine, 33 percent beer, and 9 percent vodka. Over 50 percent of the youth in the sample (5th grade and higher) drank with the consent of their parents or guardians.[6] The consumption of alcohol is constantly on the increase and drinking is done at home and in public places, including the street. Management of restaurants and other establishments in the public sector "push" alcoholic consumption because it helps fulfill the quotas and target plans and keeps the enterprise solvent.

Some attribute the widespread consumption of alcohol to popular desire to escape, to forget the hardships and daily struggles. Suggestive as this explanation might be, it neglects the fact that vodka is the favorite potion among the well-situated as among the poor, among people in the rural areas as in the city, and it is traditional.

While the consumption of alcoholic drinks is on the increase, the consumption of toilet articles, primarily soap, is more or less stabilized. Another survey -- this one conducted by the Women's League over a period of 2 years among a sample of 738 families of various social background -- reveals that 27 percent of urban-based families lack the custom of washing daily. Such custom is almost nonexistant in the village. Only 50 percent among the rural families indicated that they take a bath "from time to time," and in the cities only 75 percent of those sampled. Thirty-one percent of the village families do not own any special urn (e.g., sink, tub, washbowl, etc.) of any kind for personal washing purposes and 82 percent of the families have only one towel for all family members to serve all purposes. In discussing this survey, Jan Szeląg comments wrily:

> A lot is being said about motorization in Poland although, as it appears from the above figures, one should also write about the necessity for "soapization," "bathization," "washbowlization" and "towelization" in our daily life.[7]

Szeląg also points out that while the country is about to inaugurate one of the biggest and most imposing opera buildings in the world, oral hygiene is still in a stage of backwardness -- that the annual consumption of tooth paste is only 1 1/3 tubes per capita. Girls will put their hair up in curlers but without shampooing; boys learn how to drive cars and race on country roads on motorcycles, but pay little attention to matters of modern hygiene.

There are relatively few cars on the roads, many horsedrawn wagons, many traffic fatalities -- because the drivers of either modes of transportation assume that the road belongs to them exclusively. Young peasants on horsedrawn carts will race with one another or draw up alongside each other for a chat or fall asleep letting the horse guide them to destination while, at the same time, drivers of motorized vehicles assume the right of way. New modern highways appear alongside old cobblestone thoroughfares but actually there is little traffic on either. Wide city squares are almost devoid of people. Experimental movies and music (both symphonic and jazz), a poetry of sensitivity and depth, and men bowing from the waist and kissing the hands of ladies exist alongside a great deal of churlishness and "hooliganism," drunkeness and lack of that aspect of "personal culture" encompassed by simple body hygiene. It is a country of contrasts, in transition, in which there is a great deal of talk about work and pretense of work but not much exertion. Szeląg writes:

> It is obvious that a lot still remains to be done in our country in the area of culture: the culture of daily life, of cleanliness, of information easily obtainable. These aspects of culture are important and would lift our lives to a higher level.[6]

The new and fashionable colloquialism for work is robić (doing) implying a casual attitude towards labor on the part of the speaker, something like a reference to marking time. Part of this attitude is attributed to the conflicting demands and expectations of the authorities: on the one hand work is extolled and people are urged on to higher levels of productivity but on the other the time consumed in meetings and conferences tends not only to interrupt the work tempo and routine but also to tire the participants. The rank-and-file begins to doubt and not take seriously one or the other of these demands and expectations and falls back into apathy towards both work and official talk (on matters of "ideology," "character-building," or in connection with some current political campaign on which authorities feel workers should be enlightened). As a result,

> ...many people treat solid, sound work as a mark of conservatism, as something old-fashioned, and sloppy; casual labor, "light" work, is seen as a manifestation of modernity. ... The person who devotes the full official quota of 7 or 8 hours work to actual labor is considered to be something of a maniac or, at best, a harmless fool and odd ball.[9]

Yet, the system functions, schools open on time, trains run on schedule and productivity is improving after all. Many obviously do have a sense of duty and carry their work load without resorting to "gimmicks." Some perform out of inertia or duty, others through a sense of gratitude to a system which has offered them an opportunity to advance on the social ladder. These are usually those of workingclass or peasant background who have managed somehow to overcome the various obstacles on the road to upward mobility (e.g., deficiency due to background, examinations, educational hurdles, etc.). The obstacles are maintained by the system, to be sure, but, at the same time, they personally have reached their goals with a feeling of accomplishment, of having arrived and are subsequently thankful. They could be likened to the middleclass educated Negro in American society who, having "made it" personally, absorbs the values of a white middleclass society and tends to be conservative in his thinking. Moreover, those who have "made it" in Poland are constantly reminded of the presocialist system under which their chances for success on the social ladder were near nonexistant. Zbigniew Kwiatkowski characterizes them as "churls with diplomas," children of peasants and workers, of smalltown, provincial bureaucrats and of underpaid, rural elementary school teachers who, unlike their parents, have somehow managed to finish all elementary and secondary grades, pass all examinations, meet all requirements, finally to graduate from a university, a higher school of agriculture or a higher polytechnik. The language they speak is flawless but lacking the flavor of their more sophisticated counterparts of traditional intelligentsia origin. But they are the new intelligentsia, the hope, the cornerstone of the system, as it were. They work well. They also enjoy their new positions of importance and authority, spend many hours behind their official desks -- the desk, in fact, symbolizes their new status and serves as protection, insulation, from the outside world which they believe must surely envy them. They take themselves seriously, If one of them happens to serve as a factory manager or director he takes care to maintain a proper distance between himself and the workers. He is severe in judging those who do not come up to the standards of his expectations; politically he looks up to the Soviet Union as the country worthy of emulation because of its order and technology; he is somber. With respect to vodka: he either drinks it like other Poles or he abstains totally. As for girls: he either chases them and turns into a "churl-deviant" or he is completely loyal to wife and children. He is the equivalent of the nouveau riche in capitalist society but with one difference: he has a bureaucratic mind and mentality.

He also has a deep-seated inferiority complex. He sees himself as an intruder into the ranks of an elite dominated by the old intelligentsia, he lacks their manners, their social grace. The exclusive intelligentsia clubs (literary and cultural circles, etc.) are still dominated by the traditional intelligentsia among whose members he feels ill at ease. The old intelligentsia knows how to enjoy life, leisure, extra-marital sex, but the new intelligentsia advances more rapidly within the organizational structure and these advancements serve to sooth somewhat the feelings of social inferiority. The member of the new intelligentsia is ambitious, loyal, his personal concerns are centered on matters of income and material privilege. Kwiatkowski refers to the "churl with diploma" as "intelligentsia alfa" and to the representative of the traditional intelligentsia as "beta."

> /Alfa/ is a model of the intelligentsia in service. He is loyal, "easily led." ...he is ambitious but his demands are rarely centered on wider social concerns... Intelligentsia alfa, if at all given to abstract thinking, is versed only in the realm of ideology and Marxist philosophy. Intelligentsia beta was in this respect endowed by fate. It assumed here...the role of observer.
> ...
>
> To compare both types. Type alfa. Compelled to compensate for the shortcomings afflicting past generations, seeking for itself a place under the sun, without support among kin, separated from its original milieu, striving to overcome material difficulties, conscious of the responsibility it bears...
>
> Type beta: also struggling for a place under the sun but knowledgeable of the road. (Fathers and uncles have traveled the same road before.) It enjoys the support of its milieu. A free bird -- someone else is shouldering the responsibility /for the system/ after all.
>
> Which type shines brighter? Which is more attractive? Which of the two fits better into the old but nevertheless still binding social norms? Which has guaranteed an easier and quicker success?
>
> Let the reader answer these questions for himself.[10]

It could very well be that the singleminded, upward mobile member of the new intelligentsia, the expert with a bureaucratic mind, risen from the depth of the working class, small-town officialdom, or the peasantry will overcome and solve, at least within himself, the dilemmas and conflicts induced by rapid change. He does his job, he stays on his post, he may even, without rationalizing too much on the propriety of the still existing obstacles which make the class of his origin disadvantageous on the road towards "a place under the sun," feel grateful towards the system -- but how successful can he be in totally severing his ties to his old milieu, in breaking away from established patterns which perpetuate styles, norms and institutions which the new system views as obsolete, if not totally hostile? How successfully can he assimilate the new values of a socialist, materialist and secular culture and still function as an integral part of an environment in which the traditional types of the "Catholic," the "Well-mannered Pole," the "Gay, Playboy" type are so well entrenched (to use the typologies advanced by Florian Znaniecki, Józef Chałasiński and, later, by Jan Szczepański regarding prevalent Polish social character types)?[11]

Regardless of the official position of the regime, the Church and Church service remain important in Polish society, especially in small towns and villages. Even in middle-sized cities older women will look askance at young girls whose dresses may be too short or too decolleté. As in the days before the Communists came to power, photographers are busy taking pictures of youngsters in their First Communion suits and dresses. The workers employed in the Warsaw Motorcycle Factory studied by Jan Malanowski in 1962 indicated that they and their families attend Church on Sunday, the only day in the week of prolonged family togetherness.[12]

This and other studies indicate that in addition to church attendance, the leisure days of Polish workers and middle-level industrial management personnel is spent on sleeping, visiting friends and relatives, organized excursions (among men in middle-level positions), watching movies and television (especially among young workers) or other "passive" recreational activities. The literature they read during their free time is usually light in character -- e.g., detective stories, sport, etc.[13]

It is the persistance of Church-related activities, however, that is of greater concern to those within the system who would like to see a more rapid and thorough social transformation and assimilation of the values of the new socialist ethics because it is the Church which constitutes a very conscious and organized reminder of a non-Socialist, non-Marxist, non-materialist set of values and beliefs. While the persistance of other cultural styles (e.g., drinking, poor hygiene, poor work discipline, etc.) lacks formal organization to give them conscious and purposeful direction, Church-related activities are of an entirely different order.

The formation of the People's Republic in some ways has brought about an atmosphere of religious toleration unknown before. Whereas in the interwar period the Catholic Church was dominant and its influence has permeated all aspects of Polish social life, some smaller religious denominations lacked even in legal status. The "legal existence" of these was recognized during the 1945-47 period. A decree of August 5, 1949, formally guaranteed freedom of conscience, made attempts to interfere with religious practice punishable, prohibited discrimination against believers of any faith, prohibited desecration of houses of worship or objects of religion -- at the same time it also prohibited the Church from propagating, under the guise of religion, ideas which may be interpreted as being hostile to the State. The formal separation of religion from the state was further widened when in 1949 a secular oath replaced the traditional one before the courts of justice and when in 1950 a secular oath replaced the one mentioning God in the armed forces.

The October 1956 events which brought Gomułka back to power -- with the support of the Church hierarchy -- gave the Catholic Church semi-official status, for a while at least. Religious symbols appeared on railroad stations and religious instruction under members of the clergy was re-introduced into the school system. To be sure, the clergymen teaching religion lacked formal faculty status and could not participate in the activities of the pedagogic councils and student participation at catechism lectures was on a voluntary basis, but the social pressures were such that attendance in these classes was in many schools almost total. Precisely because it was nonexistant in the public schools before October 1956, precisely because it was reintroduced with the liberalization of that period, religious instruction became the very symbol of liberalization. Many saw in its re-emergence a harbinger of the development of a new political system in which traditional Polish values would co-exist with a socialist ideology which they viewed as either beneficial or expedient because of Poland's geographic position, or as both beneficial to society in general as well as "practical." But some viewed attendance at religious instruction as a re-affirmation of traditional Polish values and beliefs, and as a manifestation of opposition to the official creed. Names of children not participating in classes on religion were posted in the vestibules of Cracow churches. Thus singled out, children of confirmed Communists, atheists, agnostics, or even Jews became subject to the persecution of schoolmates who interpreted non-attendance as a manifestation of deviation from what became an almost sanctified act of adherence to national tradition.[14] As a result of these events and because of a variety of other considerations, religious instruction was once more removed from the public schools towards the end of the 1950s. It coincided with a general tightening of Party controls, a departure in many areas from the liberal promises of October, 1956, a growing conservatism among the leading Party cadres, including Gomułka, and increasing rapprochement with the Soviet Union which initially viewed the 1956 events with considerable suspicion. The Party began to compete with the Church as a national institution, attempting to project an image of a continuator of national traditions, trying to appeal to the masses in terms of the same national (and nationalistic) values as the Church while at the same time paying homage to a Marxist ideological and philosophical system. The Party quite consciously began to operate simultaneously with traditional Marxist and traditional Polish nationalist symbols.

In competing with the Church and in trying to mobilize popular sympathies to its own side, the Party reminds Poles that it was the Vatican which during World War II -- at a time when Poland was occupied and suffering -- had terminated the Concordat of 1925; that it is the Vatican which still has failed to recognize as Polish the territories in the West which until 1945 belonged to Germany; that it was the Church hierarchy which in 1966, in connection with the millenium celebrations commemorating one-thousand years of Polish statehood and Christianity in Poland, appealed to the German Church hierarchy for reconciliation.[15] In its struggle against the hierarchy the Party is allied with some lay Catholic groups, notably that of "Pax" which is led by some of the most radically nationalist elements of the pre-war period and which in its own publications tries to synthesize the language of socialism with that of religion, projecting an extreme nationalistic image.

Regardless of the final outcome of the above competition between the Church and the secular authorities, the institutions of the Church and of religion are deeply rooted in the Polish national consciousness. Even though Poles, cognizant of the attrocities of the Germans during World War II and fearful of German revanchism, may disapprove of the appeal of their bishops to the German bishops (since many still feel that Poles should neither "forgive nor forget"), the Church is viewed as the sine qua non of Polish traditional culture. Zbigniew Kwiatkowski tells of a village he visited in which a new church building is being constructed (which will make a total of three churches for the village) while three classrooms are being added to an overcrowded, old, dilapidated public school structure. The new church is being built by volunteer peasant women who, Kwiatkowski notes, carry the brick with expressions of "pious concentration." The church is to serve four adjoining villages, the residents of which are contributing not only their labor but their monies and material to the project. In addition to the school, other structures in these villages are in need of repair but the brick destined for the new church is safe, no one would dare to steal. "Who would dare to use holy brick for a stable or a cow shed?" asks the priest in charge of the project. Even the poorest of the village find enough spare cash to contribute to the Church fund -- cash Kwiatkowski maintains they did not have before the establishment of "socialist Poland." Are they grateful?

The school must pay for every piece of material, for every hour of labor. The chairman of the village (*gromada*) National Council is simultaneously chairman of the church's building committee. From the pulpit the priest reads off the names of those who contributed and those who are still expected to contribute, leaving out pointedly the names of those who do not participate in the building campaign; the listeners "get the message" and the non-participating villagers are surrounded with a wall of silent isolation. Kwiatkowski comments:

> The matter of a new school building gains increased interest but the village is tired and the construction of the new church has drained its energy and funds.
>
> ... The priest demands that the people should donate to the church the first penny (*grosz*) they have left after meeting the most essential expenses -- yet the church as an institution did not provide them with the pennies nor the source of their income... With his activities he is utilizing the accumulated social energy whose source is to be found neither in the Church nor in its doctrine. I do not ask by what right does the priest make these demands. I ask, in the name of what? Does the priest really believe that the church should have a higher priority than the school for this village and its several hundred children who attend classes under the most deplorable conditions?
>
> 'You ask, in the name of what are the demands being made? In the name of faith, blind faith for which people are ready to give all...'[16]

As indicated, the individual citizen of the People's Republic *may disapprove of some of the Church hierarchy's political statements yet, at the same time, be devout* and regularly attend services and confession. Although not intellectually committed to the system, he may be loyal to the secular authority and, at the same time, consider himself to be loyal to his religious faith also. This dualism is not limited, however, to his intellectual life only; it penetrates also his very personal behavior and, consequently, colors his attitude towards the institutions of the political culture which he is able, in his own mind, to reconcile himself to despite their overt and seeming contradiction. As Czesław Miłosz points out, one cannot brush off as mere hypocrisy the behavior of those girls "who spend the night with someone for a lark, knowing that they must wake up in time for Mass next morning."[17] In popular categorization Poles classify themselves as (a) believing and practicing, (b) believing but not practicing, (c) practicing but not believing, (d) neither practicing nor believing -- and those within the mixed categories feel no qualms of conscience nor do they perceive anything unethical in their attitude. For Polish Catholicism is more than mere religious faith; it served as the surrogate for the state when the latter was liquidated by the powerful external forces of non-Catholic Prussia and Russia. But because it represented a form of national continuity its appeal was primarily in formal, external terms. To quote Miłosz again: "Polish Catholicism, despite its having profoundly penetrated the Polish mind...has remained above all an attachment to the liturgy."[18] This would mean that it stresses ceremony above content, cathechism rather than Biblical tradition. Moreover, since the Church identifies itself with the nation it emphasizes collective rather than individual responsibility.

> It fosters idealism of various kinds and makes an absolute out of action, which should always aim at high goals. Perhaps this is the source of the Pole's capacity for heroic elan and of his casual or careless way of relating to another person, his indifference even to another's suffering. He wears a corset -- a Roman corset. After a certain amount of alcohol, it bursts open, revealing a chaos that is not often met with in Western European countries. Religion is rarely an inner experience for him; most often it is

> a collection of taboos grounded in habit and tribal prejudices, so that he remains a slave to Plato's Social Beast. His literature is filled with the problem of duty toward the collective (the Church, the Nation, the Society, the Class) and the conflicts it engenders. Little wonder that in some Poles the strength of their negation was directly proportional to the strength of that tradition.[19]

The chaos produces paradoxes: Traffic on busy downtown streets -- overhung with banners proclaiming slogans against the present Church hierarchy -- being stopped to let pass a leisurely religious procession of hymn singing, banner carrying men and women and young boys in white frocks carrying lit candles; religious burials of Party veterans, crosses and holy pictures in their homes. The obituaries which appear in the official organ of the Central Committee of the United Polish Workers' Party Trybuna Ludu refer to the deceased as "comrade," lists his past service to the movement and to the People's Republic, the medals and honors bestowed on him, his work in the pre-war and wartime underground, etc. These are signed by his colleagues, comrades in arm, the institution or organization he was associated with in life. The obituaries which appear in the same day in the formally non-Party and popular daily Życie Warszawy or the evening Express Wieczorny feature a cross and palms and refer to the deceased as his or her "sacred memory," followed by the name; these obituaries are signed by the family and announce the time and place of the Church Mass.

Children of high Party officials are frequently brought up in a religious tradition by their mothers, aunts or grandmothers -- often without their busy fathers being aware of this fact. The stores of the "Veritas" chain which are connected to the Catholic lay organization "Pax" do a thriving business in religious articles and, at the same time, serve as purchasers of gold and jewelry.[20] "Pax," as already mentioned, collaborates with the Party and even assumes the role of spearhead in many a campaign, especially when values of nationalism and "socialist patriotism" are to be stressed or when the Church hierarchy is to be criticized from a "loyal Catholic point of view."

2. Individual Adjustment to Change

Despite the persistance of many traditional cultural styles and values the setting is undergoing change nevertheless. The changes are related to urbanization, steady industrialization, educational opportunities, official ideology. The latter manifests itself in a new official vocabulary which some perhaps do not take seriously but others do. Adaptation to the changing environment leads to the emergence of new values which, added to the old value structure, generate a new synthesis, as it were -- the development of a pattern of styles and values in which the new co-exist with the most persistent and enduring of the old. The individual learns somehow to synchronize and absorb the pressures of the Party, the economy and the ideology, and those of the Church, of the secular and the religious order. In this learning process he is aided by the formal and informal institutions of the system, some of which may pull him in the direction of the old order and others in the direction of the new. The family and the Church are the fortresses of the traditional value structure although the family itself is torn since its members, especially those exposed to the economy and the institutions of the sociopolitical environment, interact and influence each other, and so seeking adaptation undergo the process of "synchronization." Within the family it is primarily the elder women, mothers and grandmothers, and older men, less dependent on the pressures of the economy and the political market place, who work towards the perpetuation of old values and styles. The family is therefore a less "reliable" agent of the old order thus *making the Church the primary bearer of traditional values* -- a role to which the Polish Church has become accustomed in the past, during the periods of partitions and statelessness, and which it assumes quite willingly thus making it a thorn in the eye of secular political authority but, at the same time, *transforming it from an institution concerned exclusively with religion (and the world thereafter) into a political institution concerned with socio-political reality*. The *school* is charged by formal mandate with the task of socializing the youth into the new secular values and beliefs, with helping students to internalize the norms of the new culture and those elements of the traditional culture sanctioned by the authorities, to develop in them the skills needed for the performance of future roles within the political and economic system. *The peer groups are therefore perhaps the only ones which exposed to the pulls of the traditional order on the one hand and the new order on the other, evolve a value synthesis which helps the individual young person to adapt to reality*. The older person rooted completely in one or the other of the value polarities may find the situation too conflict ridden, too dychotomized, to be able to arrive at some behavioral synthesis, or that synthesis may only be skin-deep, superficial. The older Party faithful may thus only tolerate his pious mother-in-law or be scornful about the religious practices to which his child is introduced by his wife but he will do nothing about it because while he is cognizant of the discrepancy between these practices and his own ideological convictions he is also aware of the social forces demanding some sort of religious conformity. On the other hand, the older Catholic Pole (who is either practicing or believing or even both) may, under pressure of economic and political necessity be forced to make verbal amends to accommodate official expectations or he may even go through the paces of external conformity. The peer groups of the young, though, have gone through the new school, the family, have absorbed the demands of both the traditional as well as the new culture, and have evolved a sub-culture life of their own. In time the youth subculture with its value-synthesis (which incorporates the synchronization of the conflicting socio-cultural demands) may produce the dominant norms and styles of People's Poland. From his peer group the young Pole learns what to take and what to reject from Church, as well as what to take seriously and what to ignore from the socialization effort of the school and the formal youth organization.

To strengthen the position of the new values the Polish school system is expected to deal with the Church and religion. This being a sensitive subject it cannot launch an all-out assault, especially on the lower grades, lest it will reinforce existing pro-religious sentiments, create open or hidden hostility, or even generate sympathy for the "persecuted" Church. Neither can it ignore the subject altogether -- it has to meet somehow the curiosity of the young about religion, the Church, the conflict between the Church and the secular authorities about which the child must have heard at home, from friends and the like. It also must avoid lending to religion an aura of "secrecy," of "illegality," because it may only further stimulate the curiosity of the young who are attracted to the "secret." Mikołaj Kozakiewicz offers a sample of "positive" and "desirable" treatment of the subject of Church and religion from a secular-materialist point of view by demonstrating and reporting on his own conversation with a curious child:

> Child: Uncle, where do all these people go?
>
> I: To Church.
>
> Child: What is a "Church"?
>
> I: This is the red building you see, the one with spires on top of which are iron crosses. You see?
>
> Child: This I know. But what do people do in Church?
>
> I: They sing songs and read prayers.
>
> Child: Why do they do that? Cannot they sing and read at home?
>
> I: They could but here they gather to do it together. A Church is a kind of house in which nothing else is being done except singing songs and reading prayers.
>
> Child: But why do they do that?
>
> I: You see, they do this in memory of a certain man who lived a long, long time ago. His name was Jesus and he was killed, hung on a cross.
>
> Child: Uncle, I have seen such a man. He was made from iron.
>
> I: Precisely. This was an image of Jesus.
>
> Child: Why do they sing to him and read from books?
>
> I: Because many people think that he was not just a man but God.
>
> Child: You also think so?
>
> I: I think that Jesus was a man just as you and I. He was a good and poor man but only a man.
>
> Child: Is that why we do not go to Church like other people?
>
> I: Yes, that's why.
>
> Child: But I would like to see how it looks inside and how people sing. Could we go in?

I: Of course, but it would be better if we go some other time. When there is no Mass.

Child: And what is a "Mass?"

I: This is what the gathering of people is called, when they sing and read prayers.

Child: Isn't it permitted to enter during Mass?

I: It is permitted. But I would like to show you many things in Church and during the Mass there are many people and we could not move around freely. It would disturb them.

Child: All right, then, we will go some other time. But for now I would only want to peek inside. Just for a second... I wouldn't move and wouldn't disturb anyone. All right?

I: All right. We can look in for a minute. But when you go in you must take off your cap.

Child: Why?

I: You always bare your head when you go into a house or into kindergarten, right? Church is a big house...

Although from an obviously atheistic environment the pre-school child participating in the above conversation already knew the Church and could identify its building. The child's curiosity was primarily centered on the mysteries taking place behind the heavy portals. It could not escape noticing the many faithful entering. This child had evidently already obtained some rudimentary information about the subject from some other source (playmates, playmates' parents, grandmothers, etc.) but it wanted to indulge its curiosity, explore this phenomenon which is so evident in daily Polish social life. Of the various socializing institutions the school seems to the secular and political authorities the most natural as well as the most efficient for the purpose of presenting to the young its own case, as it were. Here the youth is to become acquainted with and, hopefully, internalize the norms of the new political system, of the new culture. *Education is formally defined as a cultural and socio-political learning process.* One of the sages of Polish education, Stanisław Staszic (after whom the palace housing the Academy of Sciences in Warsaw is named), wrote as early as in the 18th Century that "different governments use different means because they are in need of dissimilar citizens' skills. Therefore, in each country education must be adjusted to that country's type of government."[22] But Staszic lived in a pre-Marxist epoch and he therefore saw the state and society as limited to formal government and its demands. According to Marxist thinking *both the government and its school system are but superstructures of a much broader and causative material-economic system which in its own turn is determined by the prevailing types or modes of production.* Although the present government in Poland and its orientation does not wholly meet the Marxist developmental model inasmuch as it reached for power not as a result of compelling economic and technological conditions but rather in response to existential conditions of a more political nature (industrialization, urbanization and the accelerated drive for technological progress came only after the "political revolution" has taken place), the school system at present is at least formally designed in its educational content to meet the needs and demands of existing economic reality and the socio-political goals of those in charge of the totality of the system, its economy included. Yet, just as Marx foresaw circumstances under which the "bourgeois state" (which he generally considered to be under the dictatorship of the capitalist class) as evolving an interest all its own -- an interest which may even bring that state into conflict with the dominant capitalist class -- *the school system while a superstructure of the socio-political and economic order develops a pattern all its own and, in its turn, becomes itself the creator of new social values.* Professor Bohdan Suchodolski addressing the Congress of Polish Culture said:

> Today the work of millions of people -- in industry, agriculture, in the service trades -- is deeply interrelated with science not only because the products of scientific research are applied in practice but also because the prevailing practice becomes a factor in the further advancement of scientific and technological knowledge.
>
> In this situation we cease speaking of popularization of science but begin to look to the new problem of its universalization. ...
>
> Under these altered conditions science ceases to be a component of the cultural superstructure but becomes an element of life itself, it becomes in full measure and in its own right a direct creative force.
>
> Thus we close the circle of our considerations on the new relationship between culture and life. Art, science, education and technology are becoming increasingly the forces which form and mold the daily reality of people, and because of this they do not appear any longer in their consciousness only as mere elements of culture divorced from the realities of life.[23]

The school is to induce internalization of the norms of that reality both with respect to the scientific-technological culture but also, and perhaps more importantly, with respect to the new moral culture. The school is to introduce models worthy of emulation so that youth may identify itself with them and *assimilate, absorb, the motivations* leading to the desirable act, the acceptable and expected behavior.[24]

How are the various dilemmas resolved on the individual level; how are they coped with and how does the educational system affect the individual pupil and student? With its stress on mass dynamics and its accent on the analysis of broad social forces and movements, Marxist philosophy has until recently neglected the problem of the individual.[25] As a consequence, economic, social and educational planners in socialist countries were apt to think in broad social categories and evolve their blueprints accordingly, with the assumption that the individual would adapt himself to the conditions thus created. It is, however, on the ability of the individual to adapt to rapid social change that the success or failure of the goals to be achieved hinge. Most basic personality theorists maintain that essentially the basic character of a person is formed during the preschool period and that the rate of internalization of social values, norms, and attitudes drops off with advancement in age. The school, especially on the lower educational level, is therefore the system's chance to "salvage" whatever it can from the possibly hostile or oppositionary influences to which the child was exposed prior to entering the school or to which it may be exposed while attending classes. The socialization effort on the part of the school system must be intense and concentrated, and the teacher -- as the actual agent of value socialization -- becomes an all-important crucial cog in the machine.

The school and the teacher are thus pitted against the Church and the priest who hitherto held a virtual monopoly over the Polish moral system. The youth may be able to absorb more readily the school-sponsored values of the industrial and technological culture than those more closely related to the ideological and ethical system officially endorsed by the regime. This is so because opposition to the values of the industrial-technological culture is informal in nature, rooted in traditional folk patterns of behavior, whereas opposition to the values born of the ideology have found reinforcement and shelter in the organization of the

Church. Thus, the cross-pressured individual may find it advantageous to resort to a superficial, lip-service adherence to one or the other of the two competing ethical systems or to both. In the latter eventuality he would either have to find emotional sustenance in a morality which is neither of religious nor ideological origin or is a blend of the two; or, alternately, he may fall into a state of anomic drift. The research conducted in 1959 by the Warsaw Center for Research on Public Opinion (OBOP) on youth attitudes towards ideology and that undertaken by Father Wileńsky among Warsaw youth produced overt expression of conformity to the system's secular expectations. For example, the former encountered a significant number of young people who declared themselves formally as "Catholic" but who expressed opinions which set them markedly aside from the ethical preachings of the Church; they, in fact, voiced approval of the socio-political and cultural changes taking place in contemporary Poland more or less in the same measure as did those persons whose links to the Church were less formal or even non-existant. Father Wileński's study produced opinions expressing religious doubts among 93 percent of those in the 14-15 year age group and an even higher percentage among those in the 16-18 age bracket. However, after analyzing these findings more carefully, Tadeusz M. Jaroszewski came to the conclusion that:

> There is a high negative correlation between the actual secularization of citizens' consciousness and their subjective feelings of attachment to the Church and to religion. That is, the number of persons who identify themselves on a questionnaire as "Catholic," "Atheist," "Religiously Indifferent," etc., does not really reflect the actual state of de-Christianization.[26]

Moreover, the value synthesis arrived at by young people as a result of the conflicting pulls may preclude genuine internalization not only of the principles of either the Church-related or the ideology-related ethical system but may also preclude assimilation of at least some of the traditional values endorsed by both the Church and the Party. Many writers bemoan the lack of knowledge among the young of the events related to the nation's "heroic past," and the sense of boredom which permeates lectures on patriotism and "higher morals;" others, as Zbigniew Kwiatkowski, point to the expressions of impatience which greet narratives recounting the suffering of the people during the German occupation of World War II, tales of the concentration and extermination camps (e.g., Oświęcim, Tręblinka, Majdanek, etc.) which existed on Polish soil during that period. To the young this is "ancient history," as it were, which they would rather forget since it may spoil the pleasure of life. Yet, this is a youth which lives in a country where the remnants of destruction and past suffering are to be found almost everywhere, where people bearing the scars of that past are all around them, and who themselves -- if born prior to 1945-46 -- might still carry vague memories of those years. There is a clear desire among the young to push such memories as deeply into the subconscious as possible so that they will not interfere with the life and the problems of today.[27]

Yet because in the past the Church was often placed in the position of being a rallying point for those in defiance of state authority, it may continue to attract the youth which for one reason or another would rebel against the system. During the *millennium* celebrations of May, 1966, students were marching along the streets of Poznań shouting the slogan "With God." The same or similar slogans appeared on many a wall. Again, this does not necessarily mean that those students have no doubts whatever about the Church or religion -- the Church merely provides a necessary focus, a cause, an issue for whatever grievances people may have, be it poverty, a restricted educational system, inferior housing, the banning of a play or the dismissal of a favorite university instructor, etc. In turn, placed in such position every statement issued by the Church hierarchy -- be it on morals or tradition or policy -- becomes wrought with political implications, attains the status of a challenge to government and Party authority. The political leadership is forced, in a sense, to pick up that challenge and, for its part, to place further pressure on the educational system so that it may be forged into a more effective tool of youth socialization. If the Church has presented itself traditionally as the defender of patriotic values, the Party and the secular school system must deny it that monopoly. The _millennium_ festivities provided a suitable occasion for the political authorities to stress their adherence to the traditional national and patriotic values. At that occasion Edward Gierek, a member of the Politburo of the United Polish Workers' Party and First Secretary of the Katowice _Województwo_ (District) Committee of the Party, declared:

> Many of the interesting forms of patriotic education which are being developed during the present important period when we celebrate the Thousand Year Anniversary of Polish Statehood should be permanently incorporated into educational activity. While kindling in the youth a pride in the accomplishments of the country and a love for Fatherland, the idea should also be implanted and strengthened in their consciousness that there is an unbreakable unity between the concepts of "Poland" and "socialism." Patriotic education must be imbued with a socialist content.[28]

In Gierek's district alone, encompassing as it does the area of Silesia, 750,000 youth came under the influence of the school system in that millennium year. "Greater assistance should be given to the schools in their difficult and responsible task," said Gierek.[29]

But while the political and government authorities were determined to fuse, especially during the millennium celebration, the ideas of "patriotism" and "socialism," while they strove to link themselves inseparably to the heroic and national past, the Church hierarchy was no less determined to use the occasion to stress that it was the Catholic faith which lent the state its personality from its inception, that Christianity predated the sense of nationalism which came later, that it was the cause of Catholicism which sent the Poles on a mission of conversion into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania previously dominated by pagans bringing, as a consequence, a powerful union which stretched deep into Muscovy, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and as a united force, again in defense of Catholicism, reached the heights of glory when defeating the Teutons at the fields of Grunwald and Tannenberg. However, in 1966 the Church's claims to Poland's past and the Party's claims to the country's present only aggravated the competition and rendered sharp edges to the inevitable confrontation.

In this confrontation the secular authorities rely on the schools and the teachers. But the teachers themselves are torn between the pulls of the community (which is still governed by many of the traditional values) and those of the political authorities who pay the teachers' salaries, have enabled them to enter a profession and provided them with opportunities for work, who take credit for industrialization, reconstruction, the advancement in technology, and have provided the country with peace at the borders. The Church-related demands may be subtle in form, the demands of the political and administrative authorities are backed up by material rewards for compliance and, on the other hand, material sanctions for those who refuse or are unable to comply. Kozakiewicz writes:

> The teacher is not expected to mold, develop, build or promote Marxist theory as such; this is the job of professional economic theorists and planners, of philosophers and of writers on ethics and politics. What is demanded from the teacher is that he watch over the formation in his pupils of a set of characteristics, the inculcation in their minds of views and convictions which taken together would eventually be decisive of the totality of the pupil's personality -- that is, whether it would, in the final analysis, conform to Marxism or not.[30]

Introduction to the new consciousness, to the materialist-scientific world outlook, could begin with the earliest grades. In biology, for example, stress should be placed on man's ability to control and shape his environment, the historical development of the organic world (evolution) and the underlying law of that development, the origins of men, etc. On the higher educational levels scientific-materialistic statements on the subject of men, the development of nature, the mind, should be contrasted with statements on the same subject derived from idealist-religious perspective. For example, in the study of nature the statement "planning and direction in the development of a living organism is the result of the workings of a process of natural selection and the establishment in the course of millions of years of such sets of combinations and solutions which would best assure the existence of the given organism" would be confronted with the statement that "planning and direction in the development of a living organism is proof of superior and permanent programming, based upon a previously established developmental plan from above." The first statement reflects materialistic assumption about natural development, the second is based upon religious and ideational premises. In teaching physics and astronomy the following two statements would be compared as reflective of opposing philosophical positions:

1. All that exists in macrocosm develops from eternal matter. Nothing can come from nothing. Matter exists, moves and changes in accordance with the unchanging laws of nature of which a part was already discovered by man while other laws still remain to be discovered (materialist position);
2. Since the universe had its genesis there must have been a time prior to its emergence when nothing existed; it could therefore be assumed that something may come from nothing, or, in religious terms, creatio ex nihilo.[31]

The teacher of history should be able to demonstrate that the development of mankind led through consecutive formations of socio-economic orders prior to the attainment of the socialist system.

> The subject of history should not only assure the students of the correctness of the socialist road of development of our country but it should also convince them that the current struggle between the classes the world over will eventually bring about the victory of socialism everywhere. Moreover, the subject of history should confirm the correctness of leaning upon the strength and the power of the USSR and the whole socialist camp.[32]

The teacher of history, moreover, also has the special task of extracting from his subject matter examples suitable for moral education -- e.g., historical figures who can serve as models of behavior, who manifested "exemplary" courage, loyalty and self-sacrifice in the service of mankind or the Fatherland and who are therefore deserving of the admiration and gratitude of generations to come. The subject of history should instill the student with a sense of patriotism, "socialist internationalism," and a will to serve the collectivity. And, given the peculiarities of conditions in Poland, the history of the country should be presented in a way which would place the Church in "proper perspective." This educational goal has a special urgency but is, because of the sensitivity and complexity, not easy to fulfill. Educational theorists are aware of these difficulties. Thus, while mention should be made of the constructive role of the Church in the process of national integration (since the Church administration was unified even at the time of partitions) and of the contribution of the Church in the areas of architecture and national art, it should be stressed at the same time that the historical subordination of Polish politics to the interests of the Vatican as well as the traditional Catholic-national slogan of Polonia semper fidelis brought in its wake disaster in war and social injustice at home and that Rome, when the chips were down, did not repay Polish loyalty with similar coin (e.g., the pro-German orientation of Pius XII, etc.)

Thus a teacher, himself perhaps torn and exposed to cross pressures, is expected to mold new generations loyal to the new system. The students themselves come to the institutions of learning having already assimilated some of the conflicting values, perhaps having already reconciled the various conflicts within themselves. Some students unprepared for a scheduled class topic (not having done their homework) have learned enough of the ideological jargon to steer the discussion in the area of generalities concerning the class struggle, the conditions of peasants under feudalism or of workers under capitalism, and the teacher is compelled to pick up the altered direction of the class hour. But as Henryk Grynberg recounts in his autobiography, most of the students in his lyceum simply fell silent when talk on ideology-related topics began in a class of history or literature. When he, the secretary of the youth organization in his school, wondered why this was so, one of his classmates, a youth of working-class background intimated:

> -- You repeat what they taught you and you think that you are terribly smart... But you are stupid... You are more stupid than the rest of the boys. I feel sorry for you. Do you really think that only you understand what they, the teachers, say? Everybody here understands all. Not worse than you do. In fact, better! ... But they do feign stupidity. What can they do? They listen to what the teachers tell them and to what you tell them, you sucker! They listen because they must. That's why they do not respond when questioned, keep silent. But the devil gnaws them inside, or they laugh to themselves. The thing is that they do not believe. They aren't such suckers as you are! You understand? They do not believe a single word...[33]

The teacher must compete with the student's peer group, his family, perhaps directly with the Church but at least with Church-related influences in society, and, finally, the teacher must also compete with the mass media, especially the popular magazines and television (whose programs are often foreign in origin -- e.g., "The Saint," "Dr. Kildare," etc., among others). Because the association with the teacher is required, because he represents the "official world," as it were, the student may view him as an imposition one must learn to bear at best. Consequently, the teacher's influence on the student is inferior to that of the parents but most often to that of the peer group from whom the student learns and which provides him with its own value synthesis. Moreover, the teacher's ability to sanction the inattentive student is limited: his most severe punishment is the low grade, but by thus punishing a student he may "lose" the pupil's interest altogether; if he threatens with a low grade but does not actually give it, the teacher loses some of his credibility; if he is lavish with inferior grade marks he may court repercussions from influential parents and/or school administrators. Moreover, any failing grade above the customary 10 percent limit usually allowed for failures per grade must be justified and explained.[34]

Male teachers in rural or provincial smalltown elementary schools are known to resort to corporal punishment in order to enforce classroom discipline and such punishment seems to have the silent approbation of rural parents (who probably use that method of discipline themselves) as well as of school authorities. Many of the principals in rural and provincial elementary schools are teachers of physical education who excel in social and organizational activism.

In addition to the conflicts in broader social values, the teacher is further torn between conflicting role expectations: he is expected to be an educator as well as an administrator, a friend of the student as well as a disciplinarian, an integral part of the community and yet -- at the same time -- a disseminator of values which the community may not be ready to absorb; he is expected to be a teacher and a propagandist, a leader and easily led, a member of the intelligentsia yet feel part of the "masses." He is expected to be creative and inventive yet at the same time to follow and adhere to the rules which are often formalistic, strict, bureaucratic, and frozen. If the teacher should resort to his innovative and inventive qualities in meeting a local exigency, he may run afoul of the rules; if he follows the rules he may not be able to perform his educational tasks. If in trouble for whatever reason, political or otherwise, the teacher's failure to meet fully any of the expectations may be used against him.

The basic and general expectation regarding the teacher is that he represent the model citizen of the new socio-political system, the New Pole. He is to be the most visible personification of the socialist personality type so that he, in turn, may instill in others the characteristic of that type. However, unlike the organizational behavior rules and the subject matter education rules which are tightly drawn, the "rules" concerning moral behavior and character, remain vague and wrapped in symbolic language. According to Jan Szczepański the dominant and expected character traits of the new and conscious socialist-citizen-Pole should include (a) an anti-religious orientation, (b) an ability and willingness to sublimate private interests for higher social interests, (c) ability for rationalist thinking, (d) social and political activism, (e) patriotism, (f) readiness for self-sacrifice, (g) internationalist point of view.[35] The latter is especially necessary for the development of feelings of empathy for and solidarity with the peoples of the Soviet Union.

These character expectations are vague because they lack concrete, operational formulation, they lack examples of how to resolve behavioral dilemmas in the "right" way when faced with an actual situation. While the characteristics attendant the more traditional Polish types also lacked specific rules which might help those trying to assimilate them (except that the Pole-Catholic type had upon him the restrictions of the Church though these were no guidelines in the matter of interpersonal relations), they at least had the benefit of traditionally established patterns, known and perceived, transmitted and exemplified through generations in Poland. The Pole-socialist type had no opportunities to acquire roots and formulation in a pre-socialist Poland. The need for this type, the expectations associated with this type, arrived upon the scene at the same time as socialism itself (as an official ideology), and that quite suddenly. The economy and its institutions did not do much to accelerate the development of that personality type: it is mixed in character, with personal material incentives favoring the private sector, it is incapable of providing happiness and satisfaction, and is bureaucratized. Similarly, the system of education (and re-education in case of the old) is formalistic and mechanistic in approach. Under such conditions theory is easily converted into dogma, words of meaning easily become symbolic cliches with which it is safe to operate without giving thought as to their real content. Moreover, the ideal (from the system's point of view) type of Pole-socialist, runs counter to the traditional and still prevalent types of Catholic, Playboy, Well-Mannered Pole or even the type of Pole-Economic Man known also in other political cultures and not entirely removed from the scene in the Poland of today.

How could the teacher, a product of these conditions, acquire the skills necessary to become an effective agent of socialization among the youth of the values of a socialist Poland? The older teacher is himself the child of the pre-transformation period and the younger teacher has undergone the institutions of education of the new system which by their rigidity place obstacles in the road of his own socializing efforts. Did he in these institutions absorb and internalize the values associated with the new order? How did the teacher when himself a student resolve the key valuation dilemma of religion and ideology?

3. The Student-Teacher and Sex Morality: The Test of Competing Value Systems

As in other societies, the subject of sex and intersexual relations, is surrounded in Poland with a veil of inhibitions and taboos growing out of the traditional value system. Not only has the religious background imposed these kinds of hesitations relative to the subject but the romantic tradition which among others tended to idealize relations between the sexes has caused even the nonreligiously oriented Poles to view the physical aspect of sex relations as something necessary but also animalistic and, if devoid of romantic love, as almost "unclean" or at least degrading to the human being. The war and the uncertainty among people as to whether they would live to see another day, the shifting of populations, urbanization, the emergence of an official ideology of liberalization from traditional inhibitions and sentiments, has induced in this area -- as in many others -- conflicting patterns of behavior. In the area of sex, because of its intimacy, the conflict affects the individual with a greater complexity and with greater pain perhaps than in the many areas involving less personalized concern.

Research conducted by Professor Hanna Malewska for the Institute of Physiology and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences shows that only one-third of devoutly religious women in Poland are capable of attaining full pleasure and satisfaction in a sex act. Yet 65 percent of her sample of 861 women experienced sexual relations prior to marriage and 50 percent had such relations with at least one male partner other than the future husband, and one-third had engaged in intercourse with more than one male other than their future spouse. While 25 percent of the women in the sample became interested in the opposite sex before having attained age 16 and 20 percent experimented with it prior to that age, one-quarter of the women in the sample had little factual knowledge of matters related to sex. Perhaps due to the taboos and traditional restraints only 19 percent of the women in Malewska's study indicated that they enjoy their sex life fully. The majority experience joy and happiness in sex only rarely or partially so, and 80 percent of the married women in the sample, although enjoying sex relations with their partners view their married life generally as unhappy. Of those who enjoy sex little or not at all, 53 percent engage in it two or three times a week, submitting themselves --

against their free will -- to the force of their husband, or to duty, or habit. Almost half of these would rather resign from sex altogether.[36] Surveys undertaken by the Bureau for Public Opinion Research in Poland project a great deal of confusion on the subject of sex and sex education, reflecting mixed emotions, attitudes and values.

How does this conflict -- containing in great measure the confrontation between religious and ideological values, "traditionalism" and "modernity" narrowed to the most personal intimate level -- affect the student preparing himself to become the educator of young generations of socialist thinking, scientifically oriented citizens emancipated from religion? Where does the student-future teacher stand on this issue -- how deeply, if at all, has he internalized the outlook and the values of the official ideology and the new socialist-materialist morality?

Moreover, as in the school systems of the West, including that of the United States, the problem of sex education in the public schools presents not only a problem of appropriate methodology and approach, not only of adequate preparation in terms of factual expertise on the part of the teacher, but also of how to deliver the subject in such a manner as to avoid offending social sensitivities. How does the future Polish teacher fare both with respect to factual knowledge about sex and with respect to attitude towards sex education and personal sex behavior?

This author was given access -- at various stages of its development -- to a research project undertaken for internal use jointly by the Polish Secular School Association and the Commission for Research on Industrializing Areas of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The research team was headed by Dr. Mikołaj Kozakiewicz. The project was conducted during April-June 1966 among second year (and thus graduating) students enrolled at the Schools of Teachers' Education of the SN type (*Studium Nauczycielskie*) in four communities: Ełk, Toruń, Przemyśl and Gdańsk (Danzig)-Oliwa. The four schools were chosen at random from the total of 27 teachers' education schools of this type in Poland. It should be recalled that these are the teachers' education institutions which provide the bulk of the elementary school teaching personnel. Of the four communities, that of Gdańsk is the largest (with a total population of about 310,000) and that of Ełk is the smallest (about 22,000 population). Each serves as the seat of county (*powiat*) administration and Toruń, Przemyśl and Oliwa are, in addition, *powiat* cities in themselves. Gdańsk, moreover, serves as the center of an administrative district (*województwo*). Przemyśl and Toruń belonged to Poland during the interwar period, while Ełk was part of Germany (Mazury Lake Area, East Prussia), and Oliwa, a residential-resort district of Greater Gdańsk (with some industry), was part of the Free City of Gdańsk (Danzig). Presently Gdańsk together with Sopot and the port city of Gdynia form the Tri-City Metropolitan Complex. Of these localities, Ełk and Przemyśl are the least industrialized: Ełk has some lumber and woodworking enterprises, and industry (mainly machine tool factories) has come to Przemyśl only after World War II. Przemyśl, though served historically as a communication and administrative center, and each of the communities in the SN sample boasts a cultural history all its own. Thus, Ełk claims to be the cultural center of the Mazury lake region; Toruń is one of the oldest settlements in Poland (a former Hansa town) and is, since 1945, the home of Mikołaj Kopernik (Copernicus) University, being the birthplace of the renowned astronomer. Its population is about 120,000. The population of Przemyśl, on the other hand, is about 50,000. Geographically, it is in the northeastern part of the country, Przemyśl is in the southeast (close to the border of the Ukrainian SSR, on the main highway to Lwow), Gdańsk-Oliwa is located on the Baltic Sea in the north, and Toruń which before World War II was in the northwest of Poland is presently, what with the shift of boundaries resultant from the last war, north-centrally located. Of a total of 442 second-year graduating students in the four schools of teachers' education 416 persons answered the questionnaire -- that is, 94.1 percent of the total. The sample represents 3.2 percent of all second-year students (total about 10,000) enrolled in the SNs. Of the respondents, 81.0 percent (337) were females and 19.0 percent (79) were males. The high proportion of females to males conforms to the general "feminization" of the elementary school teaching staff as it does to the general SN student population: in 1965 female teachers on the elementary school level constituted 75 percent of the total, and 67 percent of *all* first- and second-year students at the SNs (of a total of 22,186) were females. Of the 416 respondents, 315 were persons between the ages of 18 and 22, 38 were in the 23-28 age group and 63 were above the age of 28. The average age of respondents was 23.2 years. The youngest group of student-teachers appeared among those enrolled at the SN in Gdańsk-Oliwa (19.7 years of age) while the oldest among those enrolled appeared at the Toruń school (35.5 for the males, 32.3 for the females). The age difference is significant here: The older group at the Toruń SN (101 persons) are students *not in regular residence*. That is, they are *practicing teachers, with an average of 13.5 years in the profession*, who are enrolled in off-campus course work in order to complete the requirements for teaching on the elementary school level. The constant manpower shortage of Polish elementary schools often necessitates employment of teachers who have completed only a lyceum of general education.

It is therefore noteworthy that the older respondents, among whom many are actually engaged in elementary school teaching, have on the whole a less romanticized view on love than the younger student-teachers. The older ones are more inclined than their younger colleagues to see love as the result of a biochemical process. This response of the older group may be due to a cynicism born of experience or to having assimilated, to a larger degree than the younger SN students, a simplified pseudo-scientific view on life. At the same time, they, the oldest students -- that is, those over the age of 28 and already teaching -- are, as the very youngest among the respondents (i.e., those in the 18-19 age group), less certain about the validity of their replies, with the oldest more uncertain than the youngest. It is only the middle groups (20-28 years) which display no hesitation in their response. However, while the oldest among the respondents have a less romanticized opinion of the nature of love they do see sex (as distinct from love) in less vulgar biological terms than the younger ones. It could be that while the younger SN students long for some kind of romantic attachment they see the sex act as a mere physiological function devoid of longer lasting obligations or deeper bonds. (See Table 1).

Table 1

Responses of SN Students to Statements on the Nature of Sex and Love: By Age of Respondents (in percentages)

Age of Respondents	Human sex life is entirely directed by instinct			Love is nothing but the result of a biochemical process		
	Agree	Disagree	DK	Agree	Disagree	DK
18-19 (N.105)	49.5	44.8	5.7	28.6	62.8	8.6
20-22 (N.210)	43.3	56.7	-	20.0	80.0	-
23-28 (N. 38)	44.8	55.2	-	31.6	68.4	-
Over age 28 (N. 63)	27.0	61.9	11.1	42.9	41.4	15.7

Of greater interest, however, are the responses to statements related more directly to traditional Catholic ethic on matters of sex. Although the declaration of the Second Ecumenical Council has liberalized formally the traditional position of the Church on matters of sex behavior, it could not have altered radically the position rooted in tradition which treats sex as something less than holy and views the question of secular sex education with suspicion. Table 2 deals with responses to statements taken from Catholic ethics and related to the traditional syndrome of sex attitudes.

Table 2

SN Students' Responses to Statements on Sex Reflecting Traditional Catholic Ethics: By Ages of Respondents (in percentages)

	Age											
	18-19 (N. 105)			20-22 (N. 210)			23-28 (N. 38)			Over 28 (N. 63)		
Statement	Agree	Disagree	DK	Agree	Disagree	DK	Agree	Disagree	DK	Agree	Disagree	DK
1. Premarital virginity is testimony to the moral purity of a girl, and certainly the most decisive factor in consideration for marriage	30.2	67.8	--	36.4	63.6	--	21.7	78.3	--	17.4	82.6	--
2. Forced termination of pregnancy is synonymous with murder, regardless of the circumstances	48.9	51.1	--	45.4	54.0	0.6	31.2	63.8	5.0	36.9	58.1	5.0
3. Marriage should be inviolate and even in the most difficult situations one should not resort to divorce	38.5	61.5	--	35.0	65.0	--	46.7	53.3	--	32.6	67.4	--

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

	18-19 (N. 105)			20-22 (N. 210)			23-28 (N. 38)			Over 28 (N. 63)		
	Agree	Disagree	DK	Agree	Disagree	DK	Agree	Disagree	DK	Agree	Disagree	DK
In the ideal family the woman does not work but devotes all her time to the household and the upbringing of children	31.2	68.8	--	35.6	64.4	--	43.8	56.2	--	45.6	54.4	--

In varying degrees the numerous traditional principles related to sex and family morality have lost their impact among the young, probably due to the political and economic revolution. At the same time, these Catholic moral principles hold considerable sway among those preparing themselves for the teaching profession on the elementary school level in Poland. Despite the liberalization of abortion laws and practices, the traditional view that termination of pregnancy is tantamount to murder seems to be the most persistent from among the old beliefs, followed by the view on the indissoluble nature of the marriage contract (despite a growing divorce rate in the community at large and especially among members of the professions), acceptance of the traditional view on the propriety of the hierarchical family structure (despite the fact that most of the respondents are women), and lastly, by the stigma attached to premarital sex (despite the prevalence of such sex relationships). Moreover, in the responses from the individual schools there are on the whole no significant differences with regard to the respective sizes of the localities in which the schools are located, except that the students from the SNs in Gdańsk-Oliwa and Toruń, the two largest cities in the sample, were less in agreement with the traditional statement condemning divorce than were the students in the other schools (e.g., 8.9 percent of the Toruń students and 7.1 percent of the Gdańsk-Oliwa students agreed with the statement as compared to 14.8 and 12.8 percent for Ełk and Przemyśl respectively).

From the point of view of the system and the new secular culture which it attempts to foster, it should be heartening that none of the traditional statements received a 50 percent level of endorsement. *The question, however, is not only whether the clearly Catholic-oriented statements are favored or rejected but rather whether the statements clearly related to the official ideology and the new culture are accepted and internalized on a more significant level than that of mere simplistic pseudo-scientificism* (as indicated by Table 1). Lest such acceptance and internalization takes place, the teacher on the job, facing a questioning audience of students, aware of parental misgivings and community hostility towards the new styles, may indeed revert to the traditional beliefs and values, if for no other reason than to avoid personal and social complications. Furthermore, from the point of view of the regime and the values and styles it attempts to foster, the fact that, with the exception of the item on the woman's role in the economy, the *younger respondents were more prone to accept the traditional values than the older ones*, may very well bring into question the reliability of the school system as an agency of socialization. After all, those younger in age have gone through a school system which in terms of longevity has a better chance to become established and to develop the necessary tools of socialization. The "disagreements" with the Catholic-rooted statements seem generally to increase with age which would perhaps indicate that those already in the teaching profession or the older student-teachers with a probably higher developed sense of professionalization about to enter upon a teaching job, learn somehow to conform to official expectations. It could then be perhaps that the profession itself (as in the case of the older respondents) exercises a socializing influence of its own on its members. It could also be that the younger respondents are closer to the values and styles of their home environment (where the Church holds sway) whereas the views of the older ones are more likely to be tempered and modified by experience and life, involving adjustments to the signals and demands emanating from the secular political authorities. Young girls, student-teachers, may, on the other hand, revolt against the traditional role assigned to the woman in the family, seeking as they are an emancipated status for themselves, while older teachers (who accept the traditional view on the woman's role more readily) may reflect in their responses the difficulties of coping with the combined chores of job and family maintenance.

It should also be kept in mind that these questions do not deal with the actual behavior of the students but rather with the expression of their opinions. It might very well be that their own behavior in matters of sex and family relations are much more "secularized" and "modernized" than their opinions -- projecting tradition -- would indicate.

As indicated, teachers in Poland as elsewhere are currently expected to offer some aspects of sex education and hygiene and, indeed, the subject is being increasingly introduced on the elementary school level. Progressive theory of education sees this function not only as a device to meet normal curiosity about the subject of sex among children but also as the result of a belief that frank and open discussion would generate healthy, normal attitudes towards sex, deprive the subject of its veil of mystery, free it from the maze of ignorance often surrounding it, help avoid future deviation or premature experimentation which may result when the child's peer group is left to its own self-educative devices. It is therefore important to the Polish school system that the teacher be not only free from the traditional and Catholic taboos and attitudes but that he also be knowledgeable on the subject. Knowledgeability is not synonymous, however, with "modernity" (in the sense of open-mindedness with respect to sexual experimentation or promiscuity) since the "ideal socialist type Pole" is expected to be a very "moral" person indeed, almost puritanical in his sex morality. He is shocked by sexual humor, pornography, exhibitionism in attire, prostitution, suggestiveness in visual arts, in dance, etc. Polish visitors in the West are curious about night clubs featuring strip-tease acts and nude or scantily clothed dancers since these are forbidden in their own country. Even in Yugoslavia which, due to its open border policy towards foreign tourists and visitors, its mixed economy and cultural exposure to the West, might be expected to be more susceptible to experimentation in the area of morality, citizens of that country are prohibited from visiting nightclubs -- reserved for foreigners -- which feature erotic acts. The "ideal socialist" is a folk dance devotee rather than an admirer of modern type social dancing which he views as intended to generate unhealthy sexual excitement without offering fulfillment. He prefers folk songs conveying images of folk longings, struggle, martyrdom, to those which glorify love, disappointment in love, which he views as socially and politically disfunctional and serving no useful purpose. He sees the latter as manifestations of "bourgeois sentimentality," and emphasis on sex generally as an indication of "bourgeois cultural decadence." Yet, unlike the religiously oriented puritan, he believes in divorce (if the marriage turns out to be destructive to the couple and thus, consequently, socially and economically unproductive), he believes in birth control (again because of its socio-economic utility) and he generally sees sex as a necessary social and physiological function bringing happiness, restfulness, contentment, so that the individuals enjoying it may devote the bulk of their physical and intellectual energies to useful and productive labor for the good of society -- rather than in pursuit of and in preoccupation with sex as would be the case, he suspects, in environments in which scruples of a religious nature are attached to it. It is therefore "open-mindedness" as to the anatomy of sex but not to its vagaries that is expected of a teacher in a secular and socialist school system. Yet many who merely have assimilated superficially the tenets of socialist sex morality but not internalized it confuse that morality with "modernity" and "emancipation" which is, from the socialist point of view, only pseudo-modern, indeed decadent, a shallow imitation of foreign models and, indeed, serves as a camouflage for the selfish exploitation of one sex partner by the other (usually the male). To test this confusion the student-teachers of the four SNs in the sample were asked to respond to four statements usually associated with the "modern" and "emancipated" (but neither socialist nor Catholic) point of view (see Table 3).

Table 3

SN Students' Responses to Statements on Sex Generally Associated with "Modernity": By Ages of Respondents (in percentages)

Statement	Age								All Ages (N. 416)	
	18-19 (N. 105)		20-22 (N. 210)		23-28 (N. 38)		Over 28 (N.63)			
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
. Modern love denies all fears, restraints, and taboos of traditional morality which treats sex as sin	48.7	51.3	42.9	57.1	60.5	39.5	35.0	65.0	45.1	54.9

(continued)

Table 3 (continued)

	18-19 (N. 105)		20-22 (N. 210)		23-28 (N. 38)		Over 28 (N.63)		All Ages (N. 416)	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
. Modern love rejects the prerequisites of sentimental romanticism (e.g., serenading, flowers, oath of fidelity, etc.) since they are obsolete to the busy men and women of the 20th Century	20.9	79.1	20.5	79.5	23.7	76.3	27.0	73.0	22.3	77.7
. If there were fool proof devices against pregnancies, there should be no reason why young unmarrieds should be restrained in their sex relations	15.2	84.8	15.2	84.8	23.7	76.3	19.0	81.0	16.6	83.4
. Termination of pregnancy is in itself a morally neutral act, provided it takes place with the free consent of the female	32.3	67.7	38.0	62.0	44.8	55.2	35.0	65.0	36.8	63.2

To elucidate on some of the items in Table 3: Neither socialist morality nor non-socialist conventional contemporary sex morality frees the sexual act from all moral restraints and fears; there is a persistent negative attitude towards infidelity, towards sex relations with someone else's spouse, against forced intercourse, etc. The examples of courtship given in item 2 of Table 3 were replaced by more contemporary forms but the wooing of the male by the female (and the reverse) is seen as a positive prelude to a lasting relationship between the sexes both in socialist as in contemporary conventional morality. Item No. 3 is a simplified view on the risk involved in premarital sex, especially to the female; moreover, socialist morality stresses the educational value of self-restraint, of will-power, etc., applicable to matters of sex as to other activities. Similarly, item No. 4 regarding termination of pregnancy involves the question of "why termination?" It is not seen as a morally neutral act but rather as an act to which the woman must submit herself in order to meet someone's demands or some material condition which would prevent her from enjoying the fruits of motherhood. It is therefore an act resultant from less than "ideal" social conditions. Moreover, it may affect the psychic health of the young mother whose present "free will" may not really be free or which she may come to regret at some later date.

A majority of the respondents generally rejects the statements in Table 3 which by and large reflect popular perceptions of "modernity" in its extreme. However, the statement that "modern love denies all fears, restraints, and taboos of traditional morality which treats sex as sin" obtained a much larger rate of agreement (45.1 percent of the respondents of all ages) than the other statements -- over twice as much as the agreement given to the statement that "if there were foolproof devices against pregnancies, there should be no reason why young unmarrieds should be restrained in their sex relations" (16.6 percent agreement among respondents of all ages). There could be several explanations for the high level of agreement given to the first statement, but to mention only a few: (a) The concept of "modernity" is perhaps ambiguous enough to project in the popular perception all kinds of manifestations of love, including completely "free" love; (b) the "modern approach" to sex does indeed reject the association between sex and sin and in that sense denies the taboos attached to sex by religion; (c) "modernity" may be interpreted as general rejection of fear, superstition, psychic restraints which, in turn, is seen as a rejection of traditional morality. It is worth mentioning here that the students of the SN at Gdańsk-Oliwa, the largest locale of the four chosen, who previously accepted to a smaller degree than the students from the smaller localities the statements projecting the Catholic syndrome, endorsed 55.1 percent the statement that "modern love denies all fears, etc." However, the students from the second largest city, Toruń, accepted that statement as being a true reflection of modernity to a somewhat lesser extent than the students from the smalltown SN at Ełk.

It should be recalled that the statement of distinctly Catholic character that "forced termination of pregnancy is synonymous with murder" received a high endorsement (with 43.0 percent of the respondents of all ages accepting it as valid, and 10.6 percent unsure of an answer). This matches the low agreement (36.8 percent of all ages) given the statement regarding abortion as a "neutral act." Whether the relative acceptance of the first statement and the high rejection of the second is indicative of Catholic morality or of a realization that even the modern outlook on sex is not without some restraints remains a moot question. Yet the 36.8

percent of all respondents who endorsed the statement that termination of pregnancy is a neutral act constitutes over two thirds who previously rejected or hesitated on the statement reflecting Catholic morality (that termination of pregnancy is synonymous with murder). Also, the statements on termination of pregnancy, (a) that it is synonymous with murder and (b) that it is in itself morally neutral, received the highest rate of disagreement (on "a") and agreement (on "b") among the 23-28 age group, that is, the group most likely to be closest to the altar if not already newly wed. Their consistent position may indeed be indicative of an existential and moral dilemma facing many young couples in a country such as Poland which is relatively poor and where both husband and wife must work. To people in this age group, termination of unwanted pregnancy may be an economic necessity but still in need of some intellectualized justification which they could readily find in the belief that this act is morally neutral.

Responses to statements contained in Table 4 dealing with the moral obligations of the male in cases of unplanned pregnancy bring into focus the moral problems faced by youth in a period of transition, of change, involving in many a case the rejection -- for whatever reason -- of traditional morality, not yet aware of new moral codes but nevertheless seeking for some. The first statement in Table 4 reflects a prevailing national and Catholic attitude which assumes that the sin of sex may be "repaired" through the sanctified institution of marriage. The second statement is merely a "milder" variant of the first because it assumes that the legalized bonds between a male and female would legitimize the proof of their previously illicit affair. The third statement in the table represents an extremely "rationalistic" position since it assumes

Table 4

SW Students' Responses to Statements on Moral Obligations of the Male in Case of Pregnancy: By Ages of Respondents (in percentages)

	Age							
	18-19 (N. 105)		20-22 (N. 210)		23-28 (N. 38)		Over 28 (N. 63)	
Statement	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
1. An unmarried male who causes pregnancy in an unmarried female must feel obligated to marry her under all conditions.	25.7	74.3	27.1	72.9	23.7	76.3	31.7	68.3
2. A male who causes pregnancy in a female is obligated to marry her if she refuses to terminate pregnancy and desires to give birth to the child.	27.6	72.4	26.7	73.3	34.3	65.7	14.3	85.7
3. The only obligation a male who has caused pregnancy in a female has is to regularly pay for the support of the child.	41.1	58.9	48.1	51.9	39.5	60.5	25.4	74.6

that the only obligation the male has towards the pregnant female is that of providing for the support of the child after its birth. From the standpoint of socialist morality neither of the three statements in Table 4 is correct, primarily because they do not take into account a variety of mitigating circumstances. The socialist moral attitude would be different in the case of a young girl who, very much in love with some man, submitted herself to him than it would be in the case of a mature woman who had seduced a young male and later attempts to hold him through the child to which she gave birth. In both these cases the future consequences would be different for the males and females concerned. The circumstances of the latter affair may even absolve the young male from the moral obligation of child support although he might be legally held responsible for it. Moreover, in the manner in which it is posited the third statement (regarding support payments as the only obligation of the male) -- with its categorical undertones -- would violate the sense of socialist morality because it reduces love, in the final analysis, to a financial arrangement.

About one-quarter of the respondents seem to believe that the logical consequence of illicit love and resultant pregnancy is indeed legal marriage. On the other extreme there is the much larger group of respondents which believes that the male has no obligations other than child support. This response is surprising because of the overwhelming majority of females among the respondents (39.0 percent of whom endorsed the statement). It also projects a departure from traditional morality on the one hand but on the other it manifests again an acceptance of a cold and simplified version of what is understood to be a "modernity attitude," especially among men (41 of the 79 male students accepted this position as correct). It is only among the older students that the attitude limiting the male's obligation to a financial responsibility gains relatively little support. The younger ones, as shown by their other responses, tend to view sex morality in a somewhat streamlined, uncomplicated fashion.

Table 5 presents the responses to four statements dealing with attitudes towards the institution of marriage. Some of these (particularly 1 and 4) reflect conditions of rapid change, especially in the area of cultural and moral style, involving the acceptance (both legally and socially) of divorce, premarital sex, etc.

Table 5

SH Students' Responses to Statements on Marriage and Husband-Wife Relations: by Ages of Respondents (in percentages)

Statement	18-19 (N. 105) Agree	18-19 (N. 105) Disagree	20-22 (N. 210) Agree	20-22 (N. 210) Disagree	23-28 (N. 38) Agree	23-28 (N. 38) Disagree	Over 28 (N. 63) Agree	Over 28 (N. 63) Disagree
1. The danger of error in the choice of a wife is far less in the 20th Century than it was in the past due to the availability of divorce	43.9	56.1	32.4	67.6	47.3	52.7	47.6	52.4
2. The requirements of fidelity should always be more stringent for the wife than for the husband	17.2	82.8	20.5	79.5	10.5	89.5	12.7	87.3
3. For harmonious family relations it is preferable that the wife have the same or lower level of education than the husband, that if employed she occupy a lower occupational level than her husband, and that she also earns less.	36.1	63.9	29.8	70.2	39.5	60.5	33.3	66.7
4. It is preferable that among newly-weds the husband be of greater experience in matters of sex	24.6	75.4	17.2	82.8	28.9	71.1	30.2	69.8

At the same time, however, statement No. 1 implies a rather light and careless attitude towards marriage since it assumes that because of the easy availability of divorce the chances one takes upon entering into marriage are minimal -- regardless of the social, economic and psychic consequences a divorce may bring to either of the marriage partners and regardless of whether or not children are involved. Yet, the way the statement is structured, although reflective of changing social conditions, agreement to it may connote endorsement of this condition (as a desirable one) on the part of the respondent. It is therefore significant that none of the respondents utilized the "Don't know" option available to them which would indicate doubt, hesitation, uncertainty.

Statement No. 4 acknowledges, in the sense that it does not condemn, premarital sex relations. From that standpoint it indeed projects conditions of "emancipation" and change. Yet, it reverts to traditional values and styles by granting greater privileges in premarital sex to the male than to the female. While Catholic morality would denounce this statement as legitimizing illicit sex, socialist morality would condemn it for the use of double standards and for therefore being in the bourgeois tradition and hypocritical. In other words, the socialist moral position would be that if premarital sex experimentation is at all useful and healthful both the male and female should enjoy the same rights.

Statements 2 and 3 in Table 5 represent values of conventional, middleclass and bourgeois morality. Statement No. 2 is a variant of No. 4 expecting different patterns of sex behavior from females from what it does from males but transported to the institution of marriage. While Statement No. 4 expects (at least by implication) greater premarital chastity from the female than from the male, statement No. 2 expects greater postmarital loyalty from her than it does from him. In conventional bourgeois morality "playing the field" is frequently considered to be a mark of masculinity, youthfulness, adventurism in the married male and he is sometimes even admired by his peers for these qualities. He, sensing such admiration or at least approbation, may even boast of his exploits. The married female, on the other hand, seldom dares to confide to her friends of her own extramarital affairs knowing full well that what may be socially acceptable behavior for males is socially frowned upon with respect to women. A married man on a business trip away from home may not only seek female companionship on his own but, if he is of sufficient importance, he may even expect -- at least in certain business circles -- that his out-of-town contacts would attempt to assist him in finding such companionship, ostensibly to overcome aloneliness and homesickness. And, again, no moral stigma seems to be attached to such practice. However, should a married female secretary regularly seek out extramarital male partners her behavior may be considered as being a reflection on her firm.

Statement No.3 in Table 5 is in the traditional socio-cultural pattern and serves to acknowledge the husband's position as the head of the family structure. This supremacy should be assured him in modern society through granting him the same or, preferably, higher education than that possessed by his spouse, a more responsible position and better pay, if both are employed. Therefore, acceptance of this statement would indicate the extent to which the respondents -- teachers and future teachers -- are still anchored in the traditional value patterns.

Of the statements in Table 5 many more respondents accept the perhaps ambiguous statement on the decreased risks involved in entering into marriage because of the availability of divorce than they do the similarly "modernistic" statement on premarital sex, especially as it relates to the husband. Also, more endorse the statement expecting greater post-marital fidelity from the female (than the male) than the statement in support of the superior role of the husband within the family structure. That is, there is a greater inclination to accept the female as an equal to the male in terms of social and organizational position structure than in terms of sexual behavior. In this area equality has its greater limits. Older respondents seem slightly more receptive than younger ones to the idea of the beneficence of premarital sex experience. As with the previous items reflecting traditional and Catholic values, the notion affirming the hierarchical structure of the family with the husband on top of the family pyramid, seems to be favored most by the younger teachers.

Since the statements contained in Table 5 tend to affirm the traditionally accepted superior position of the male it might be expected that they would gain greater approbation among the male SW students than among the females. Table 6 views the same statements from a male/female perspective.

Table 6

SW Students' Responses to Statements on Marriage and Husband-Wife Relations: By Sex of Respondents

	Males (Total N. 79)				Females (Total N. 337)			
	Agree		Disagree		Agree		Disagree	
Statement	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. The danger of error in the choice of a wife is far less in the 20th Century than it was in the past due to the availability of divorce	33	43.0	46	57.0	119	35.3	218	64.7
2. The requirements of fidelity should always be more stringent for the wife than for the husband	25	31.6	54	68.4	48	14.2	289	85.8
3. For harmonious family relations it is preferable that the wife have the same or lower level of education than the husband, that if employed she occupy a lower occupational level than her husband, and that she also earns less	31	39.2	48	60.8	153	45.4	184	54.5

(continued)

Table 6 (continued)

	Males (Total N. 79)				Females (Total N. 337)			
	Agree		Disagree		Agree		Disagree	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
4. It is preferable that among newlyweds the husband be of greater experience in matters of sex	23	29.1	56	70.9	70	20.8	267	79.2

And indeed, a statement such as that requiring greater fidelity from the wife than from the husband received approval from 31.6 percent of the male respondents but only 14.2 percent from the female student-teachers. On the other hand, however, the statement setting forth the superior position of the male in the family structure (in traditional view needed to achieve family harmony) gained the endorsement of 45.4 percent of the female respondents as compared to 39.2 percent of the males. This would indicate that women accept the traditional patriarchical structure of the Polish family to a greater extent than men who would benefit more from such arrangement. But while accepting the traditionally accorded social and economic superiority of the male, the women are not quite as willing to grant him greater sexual privileges. This is so either because the female is not quite easy in her own mind over the premarital sexual vagaries of her spouse or because she wants the freedoms traditionally reserved to the male for herself as well. Thus, a greater percentage of male respondents (29.1) accepted the notion that "it is preferable that among newlyweds the husband be of greater experience in matters of sex" than did respondents of the opposite sex (only 20.8 percent of the females accepted that statement). Although a higher proportion of males than females view divorce as a safeguard against unfortunate marriage -- thus making the institution of marriage less binding and entry into it less "risky" -- the difference here in response level between the sexes is less significant than in the responses to the other statements in Table 6. This may indeed be due to the acceptance of divorce as an institution of "modernity" and the diminishing significance of the family institution, a view which, as already indicated, does not correspond to either the Catholic or the socialist moral position. On the whole, however, the responses to these statements demonstrate the coexistence of values and patterns rooted in tradition with values and patterns resulting from technologically induced modernity. The former values and patterns uphold the superior social and economic position of the male while the latter express themselves in a liberalized attitude towards sex behavior and the previously accepted sanctity of the family and marriage. The patterns of responses to these statements do not suggest that the new socialist-secular moral code (at least where sex and the family are concerned) have taken roots. This may indeed be a symptom of a period of change, of transition, during which old values and patterns mingle or coexist with an often warped perception of the values of the new creed. Although of 416 SN students in the sample the overwhelming majority (315 or 75.7 percent of the total), that is those age 22 or younger, were at most in their infancy when socialism was officially declared as Poland's official ideology, the persistence of living reminders of the traditional order (in the person of clergymen, parents, grandparents, older teachers perhaps) to whom these youngsters were exposed and who served as antidotes to the new system, makes even this group one of transition. What would be more disturbing from the point of view of the system is that it is the youngest group, born and educated under the new system, which accepts the older values and looks up to the older, traditional institutions in greater measure than their elders.

As mentioned, many of these student-teachers would be expected in the course of their professional work to educate their pupils in matters of sex and sex hygiene. The SN students were given a battery of questions whose objective was to test the extent of their factual knowledge in these matters. The questions dealt, for example, with the ability of modern medicine to diagnose the sex of an infant in its prenatal state, whether it is possible through blood and biochemical tests to conclude who is the father of a child, as well as questions derived from the rich lore of popular stereotypes and superstitions related to sexual potency, venereal disease and its consequences, deviation, etc. Since the respondents' ability to answer correctly these questions (which required "true-false" answers) is not germane to the concerns of this study, the results will not be reported here in detail. It is worth mentioning, however, that younger student-teachers seem to be more susceptible to the popular myths regarding sex problems than are their older colleagues. Although their factual knowledge of sex varied with the type of problem tested, on the whole, as Dr. Kozakiewicz indicates, their command of scientifically proven data relative to sex is generally rather low and would indicate a need for further "learning."[37]

One of the knowledge-testing questions had a direct relationship to the problem of valuation, transcending that of sex and sex behavior, inasmuch as it bears most immediately on the subject of conflicting moral systems. It was phrased in the form of a statement requiring, as did the others in this category, a "true" or "false" response. The statement, concerning homosexualism, was as follows:

> Homosexualism is a psychic disease and people suffering from it should be placed in institutions for the mentally ill.

Now, contemporary psychological and psychiatric opinion maintains that aside from their deviation from normal sexual patterns of behavior, persons of homosexual tendencies are otherwise perfectly normal and do not threaten society's psychic order. Persons of homosexual inclinations are sometimes exceptionally gifted and usually socially useful. Yet the SN students in the sample accepted the view that homosexualism is a psychic disease requiring isolation in a mental institution of the person afflicted. Moreover, conventional as such view is, it also matches the traditional Catholic moral condemnation of homosexualism. Age did not seem to matter in responding to the above statement since there were no significant variations in the response patterns of the various age groups (the older students, it should be recalled, are located mainly in Toruń). Nor were there differences with respect to the size of the locale, students in smalltown Ełk responding similarly to the students in the large port city of Gdańsk-Oliwa (see Table 7).

The responses on homosexualism not only betray a great degree of ignorance of contemporary scientific thought on the problem but also a measure of puritanism and prejudice. Yet, these are students who were required as part of their teachers' training curriculum to take courses in behavioral psychology. Another question requiring a true-false response was phrased in the form of the following statement: "If a man has sexual relations with a woman, this serves as sufficient proof that he is not a homosexual." This statement was accepted as "true" by 41.1 percent of the students in smalltown Ełk and only by 29.6 percent of the students in metropolitan Gdańsk-Oliwa with the schools of Przemyśl and Toruń

Table 7

SN Students' Responses to Statement: "Homosexualism is a Psychic Disease and People Suffering from it Should be Placed in Institutions for the Mentally Ill": By Teachers' Training Institution (SN) of Respondents (in percentages)

Institution		True	False
SN Ełk	(N. 115)	44.1	55.9
SN Gdańsk-Oliwa	(N. 98)	44.9	55.1
SN Przemyśl	(N. 102)	44.8	55.2
SN Toruń	(N. 101)	43.6	56.4

falling in-between the first two (34.5 and 34.6 percent acknowledging the statement as being "true"). This would indicate that every third of the responding student-teachers never heard of bisexualism nor of the various sexual behavior patterns between homo- and heterosexualism.

How do these student-teachers, some of whom have been teaching for some time and others about to enter the profession, feel about teaching the subject of sex on the elementary school level? To elicit their attitudes on the question of sex education they were given a number of statements to which they were asked to respond (see Table 8).

Table 8

SN Student-Teachers' Responses to Statements Relating to Sex Education: By Age of Respondents (in percentages)

	Age							
	18-19 (N. 105)		20-22 (N. 210)		23-28 (N. 38)		Over 28 (N. 63)	
Statement	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
1. The main objective of sex education should be to teach youth how to order their sex lives skillfully, sensibly, and safely so as to avoid future complications as much as possible	83.8	16.2	87.6	12.4	71.1	28.9	77.8	22.2

(continued)

Table 8 (continued)

	Age							
	18-19 (N. 105)		20-22 (N. 210)		23-28 (N. 38)		Over 28 (N. 63)	
Statement	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
2. It is preferable not to tell young people anything about sex because all discussion of the subject only leads to heightened sexual curiosity, a factor sufficiently present anyway	3.8	96.2	2.4	97.6	5.3	94.7	14.3	85.7
3. One should not begin discussing problems of sex with youth earlier than grades X-XI of secondary school*	22.9	77.1	24.2	75.8	44.1	55.9	38.1	61.9
4. Coeducation is harmful because it aggravates sexual instincts in youth and facilitates premarital relations between girls and boys	15.2	84.8	12.4	87.6	18.4	81.6	23.8	76.2

*Grades X-XI of Polish secondary school equal in terms of years of schooling junior-senior grades in a four-year American high school. Since first grade education in Poland begins generally one year later than in the United States the ages of students of grades X-XI of Polish secondary school is comparable to that of juniors-seniors in the four-year American high school -- i.e., 17-18 years old.

Statement No. 1 in Table 8 was deliberately put in a rather restrictive form. It places emphasis primarily on the "wisdom" of avoiding complications, of "playing it safe," as it were. If this were indeed the goal of sex education it would have failed to sensitize the student to the kinds of responsibilities he may have to shoulder in the future, to the phase of giving and caring for the other person involved in love and married life. All it would teach him is how to selfishly get the best of a situation, always calculating as to possible consequences of an act -- and thus perhaps not even able to fully enjoy the life of sexual partnership. Statement No. 2 of the same table refers again to the *tradition* of Catholic education which assumes that the less spoken about sex the less evil will result. This position conflicts not only with the premises of contemporary education theory but also with the Declaration of the Ecumenical Council on the Christian Education of Youth. Statement No. 3 which stresses that the "proper" time for sex education might be when the pupil is already sexually mature was often refuted by modern educators who seem to believe that sex education ought to begin at an earlier stage of development since to begin it later might indeed be too late for such education to have any impact or even to correct whatever erroneous assumption the student has obtained on the subject of sex from peers, the street, etc. Finally, the question of coeducation (statement No. 4) while still unresolved in educational circles was, however, traditionally the subject of opposition from the Church although the Declaration on Education of the Ecumenical Council does not contain outright condemnation of this type of education. Moreover, regardless of the merits or demerits of coeducation *per se*, the statement places on it the responsibility for "aggravating sexual instincts" of which this type of education could possibly be only one of many contributing factors and perhaps not even the most important one. If coeducation works in any way to "aggravate sexual instincts" it competes with movies, television, popular magazines, even comics and a whole range of contemporary cultural activities which in greater or smaller measure center on sex.

The SN students seem to accept overwhelmingly the simplified and "practical" statement as to the goal of sex education as being bona fide. To be sure, younger respondents seem to endorse the statement to a higher degree than older and more mature respondents although not conclusively so (since the endorsement of those over 28 years of age is greater than that given to this statement by those between ages 23-28, and those between ages 20-22 while accepting this statement in higher measure than their older colleagues also give it greater approval than their younger colleagues in the 18-19 age group). The point is though that over 70.0 percent of all respondents accepted as valid the view that the main objective of sex education should be to teach youth how to avoid future complications without qualifications which would lessen the implication of "practicality" inherent in the statement. It is further noteworthy that this view on the aim of sex education received greater approbation among the student-teachers of small-town Ełk than it did among those from big city Gdańsk-Oliwa although the difference is not great. Of special interest here are the responses from the School of Teachers' Education at Toruń which concentrates the working teachers of the sample -- this being the SN which caters to an off-campus student body mainly (see Table 9).

Table 9

SN Student-Teachers' Responses to Statements Relating to Sex Education: By School Attended (in percentages)

	School Location							
	SN Ełk (N. 115)		SN Gdańsk-Oliwa (N. 98)		SN Przemyśl (N. 102)		SN Toruń (N. 101)	
Statement	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
1. The main objective of sex education should be to teach youth how to order their sex lives skillfully, sensibly, and safely so as to avoid future complications as much as possible	87.8	12.2	84.7	15.3	85.3	14.7	74.9	25.1
2. It is preferable not to tell young people anything about sex because all discussion of the subject only leads to heightened sexual curiosity, a factor sufficiently present anyway.	5.9	94.1	1.0	99.0	0.9	99.1	9.2	90.8
3. One should not begin discussing problems of sex with youth earlier than grades X-XI of secondary school*	26.1	73.9	21.4	78.6	22.4	77.6	37.5	62.5
4. Coeducation is harmful because it aggravates sexual instincts in youth and facilitates premarital relations between girls and boys	15.6	84.4	7.1	92.9	15.4	84.6	20.8	79.2

*For explanation of Polish grade level system, see Table 8.

More respondents from that school than from the other schools in the sample accept the statement that it is preferable not to tell young people anything about sex, and, if one must, such discussion should commence only with grades X-XI of secondary school -- but, at the same time, this school also demonstrated the greatest opposition to the technical-practical conception of sex education. This is also the school which shows the most respondents opposed to coeducation. The explanation which suggests itself here is that while older persons (and older practicing teachers) are less inclined to deprive the subject of love and sex of the more romantic-sentimental aspects and of the association with responsibility underlying both traditional and socialist morality they are, on the other hand, more anchored than the younger student-teachers in the traditional culture and its taboos. Moreover, the students at Toruń, themselves practicing teachers, some with considerable job experience, received their own pre-professional training at a time when sex education was not yet generally introduced into the curriculum of the elementary schools nor was it then the issue it later became. Once it becomes an issue the tendency among a number of older persons is to react to that issue in terms of traditional morality.

It is also clear that the notion that sex education should begin at the last grades of secondary school (lyceum) generated -- aside from the endorsement given to statement No. 1 -- the least opposition from respondents. Being elementary school teachers (or future teachers on that level) they may feel either inadequate to teach on problems of sex (and as was seen, their factual subject matter preparation is rather poor) or they may feel generally awkward about it or both. They also may want, by not tackling the subject of sex on their teaching level, to avoid possible community difficulties -- with parents, the local priests, etc. Shifting the burden for such education to the secondary level relieves them of a potential problem. It is rather characteristic for the still persisting and traditional taboos surrounding discussion on sex that the very same respondents who expressed "emancipated" and "modernistic" opinions in response to the statements in the questionnaire blushed and had difficulty suppressing a giggle -- as reported by the research assistants in the field -- when answering questions testing their subject matter knowledge, particularly those dealing with masturbation and its possible effects, if any. The administration of one of the Teachers' Training Schools initially objected to the administration of the questionnaire on the grounds that it contains "indecent questions and statements," and the director of that SN confided to Dr. Kozakiewicz that after asking such questions he would be embarrassed to look into the students' eyes without blushing.

While the youngest of the teachers seem, as previously indicated, to look up to the authority of the Church in greater measure than older ones, in matters of sex and sex education older teachers seem to be more tradition-bound and conservative than their younger colleagues. Moreover, as said, the older respondents, not having undergone sex education while in preprofessional training may harbor some hesitations to even discuss the subject -- hesitations from which those who were exposed themselves as children to sex education would be presumably free.

The other statement in Tables 8 and 9 which received relatively little opposition -- aside from No. 1 which was endorsed -- that on coeducation, may again be explained not only in terms of deep-rooted tradition but also in terms of anticipated professional difficulties in situations of sexually mixed elementary classes.

In analyzing the findings Dr. Kozakiewicz commented:

> We are dealing here with a rather complex situation. Here we have the younger teachers who are quite willing to see the subject of sex included in the curriculum but are themselves, as we have seen, ill prepared to do an adequate job of teaching that subject. Also their moral posture and life experience makes their fitness to engage in sex education rather doubtful: on the one hand they still adhere in many cases to obsolete conceptions and theses and, on the other hand, they fall easy prey to vulgarized pseudo-modernity. Then we have the older teachers who for the most part possess a correct ethical outlook and have a good deal of knowledge about sex, marital life, etc., but who are, for their part, mistrustful and full of reservations and doubts as to the propriety of sex education.[38]

Part of the responsibility for the failure seems to fall on the very system of teachers' training which at least in some instances -- as in the local institutions of the SN type -- are sometimes directed by persons who themselves have not yet assimilated the blend of values generated by both socialist morality and modernity. This failure and the subsequent feeling of inadequacy among the teachers -- in addition to their caution resultant from the fear of anticipated difficulties both on the job and in the local communities -- leads many teachers to shift responsibility. If they accept, in the final analysis, the concept that sex education should begin much earlier than the last two grades of secondary school -- over the opposition of many of their colleagues -- the majority of the respondents would still want to shift the burden of sex education to the shoulders of persons other than themselves. Rather than see members of their profession burdened with the task of sex education, the student-teachers would delegate that task first to parents (who may or may not know about sex or how to teach it), or secondarily, to medical doctors (who may or may not individually possess the skill as educators but who certainly are not trained as such).

Unfortunately, because it might be considered too "provocative" perhaps, the teachers were not given the option of the priest as a possible educator on the problems of sex -- but of the options they were given as to who might be best qualified to engage in sex education (e.g., parents, physicians, teachers) they rated their own profession as the least qualified. In fact, the older the student-teacher the less confidence he has in his chosen profession to do an adequate job of sex education, or the less he wants to assume the responsibility or both (see Table 10).

Table 10

Percentage of Student-Teacher Respondents who Think that Teachers Are Best Qualified as Sex Educators: By Age of Respondents

Age	
18-19 (N. 105)	44.8
20-22 (N. 210)	34.8
23-28 (N. 38)	31.6
Over 28 (N. 63)	27.0

Of all respondents only 38.3 percent thought that teachers are best suited to do an adequate job of sex education. In other words, teachers or graduating student-teachers do not feel ready to assume a task expected of them, either because of poor preparation or because of socio-political consideration or for both of these reasons -- conditions which their training should have prepared them to overcome. Yet sex education on the elementary level is seen as an important aspect in the totality of socialist education -- the development of a personality free from some of the old taboos and prejudices, immune to the influences of the external effects of modernity but, instead, committed to a socialist moral code which includes, as one of its ingredients, a particular style of sex behavior. In addition, sex education on the elementary level is seen as a further step towards the secularization of the system -- of socializing young generations to withstand the lures of the Church. Since, despite the modifications adopted by the Ecumenical Congress, the Church is associated with the old taboos relative to the subject of sex, freeing the youth from these taboos would perhaps also free them from the influence of the Church. The difficulty is that those freed from a traditional puritanical system are not quite willing or able to embrace or submit themselves to another puritanical system which, moreover, unlike the Church, has as yet not managed to spell out fully and clearly its own moral expectations. Consequently, those "emancipated" from the old value system almost automatically drift into the physically comfortable and less demanding style and code of superficial modernity which is neither Catholic nor socialist. The problem from the point of view of the political system is: if the young teachers trained in "socialist" schools are for whatever reason (including that of quality) not ready to serve as agents of socialization into the new value system, who could or would do the job? Could it be that young teachers, although poorly prepared and trained, may in time acquire the necessary skills, either on the job or through some other formal or informal learning process? Perhaps the very process of professionalization to which the young teacher will be subject once involved as a full fledged member of the teaching occupation will result in the kind of role perception -- of himself as a teacher -- which would induce him to strive to meet the system's expectations. He then would himself be "socialized" and as such be able to serve as an adequate agent in the process of socializing others into the system.

4. Settling on a State of Modus-Vivendi

In the absence of fully socialized teachers the system must compromise on teachers who have accepted the status quo but whose assimilation of socialist values may not go beyond the symbolic level, the level of formal organizational association and the acquisition of a set of appropriate and approved symbols. Grzegorz Leopold Seidler, until recently the Rektor (president) of the Maria Curie-Skłodowski University at Lublin, refers to the acceptance of the status quo within the population-at-large as a state of "legal consciousness."[39] All it means is that members of society although not necessarily identifying themselves with the particular political authority accept that authority as legitimate and obey its laws and conform to its demands. The acceptance of that authority's laws and the obedience it commands is in large measure, however, due to the system of material coercion, of reward for "good" behavior and punishment for "bad" which is at the authority's disposal. It is only when the "legal consciousness" will become converted into a generally prevailing "Marxist consciousness" (that is, when the internalization of social norms will take root) that the system of coercion could possibly be done away with. In other words, when mere respect for law and for the demands of political authority either due to fear or in expectation of some personal reward will be transformed into a voluntary identification with the law-makers and the norms and values underlying these laws will become internalized, only then could the apparatus of coercion be abolished and only then would society become fully "socialist." The self-policing individual would not have to be watched to see that he does the "right" thing -- it would only be necessary for authority to define the "right thing" and explain it to the individual in terms of the commonly adhered to value system.

In the meantime, however, the statutory laws which Seidler views as "instruments of social reconstruction" may either lag behind or run ahead (because of the impatience of the political elite and its isolation from the masses) of the realistic conditions and the readiness of the population to accept the norms. The success of the system and of the political authority really hinges upon its ability to strike a balance between those of its norms society is ready to accept and adhere to and how far it can move ahead without inducing conditions of disturbance and resultant law breaking. Consequently, the political system must keep abreast, neither run ahead nor fall behind, the level of "socialist consciousness" existant within the political culture. If the political authority runs too much ahead with its goals and the realization of its objectives -- ahead of the actual readiness of society to accept these -- it may have to retrench, to withdraw to a more "rearguard" position, to compromise. This is precisely what happened in the area of the economy, particularly agriculture, when the system had to withdraw from its erstwhile goal of collectivization ---because of the lack of readiness on the part of the Polish peasant to give up the gains he has personally derived from land reform for the sake of collectivized farming -- and the same is actually happening in the areas of culture and education as well. The system, therefore, feels compelled to compromise with traditional values, styles and institutions, and sometimes it even resorts to these in order to achieve some other, urgently needed objectives. But in the process of compromise it is, in fact, delaying the eventual victory of socialism in the mass consciousness.

In the face of a lack of totally committed and socialized teachers the system is forced to utilize only partially committed educators -- educators in possession of a "legal consciousness" rather than a truly

Marxist one -- to do the work of preparing the young for the future. How reliable then are the teachers -- themselves only superficially "socialized" -- as agents of socialization into the new values and norms? Does the system really expect that as a result of activities of such teachers future generations will be more ready than the present to voluntarily accept a "Marxist consciousness?"

The events of March, 1968, and their aftermath emphasized the brittle state of the Party's position within the educational enterprise and the extent to which the authorities are willing to compromise with some of the traditional values and norms -- e.g., nationalism, antisemitism -- in order to further legitimize their standing in the public eye. At the XII Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the United Polish Workers' Party, Andrzej Werblan, a Central Committee member and head of the Central Committee's Department of Science and Education, criticized past Party personnel policies which, according to him, were "particularistic," favored persons of Jewish origin, and thus "did not take into account the resonance it would have within society." He further maintained that by continuing the tradition of the pre-War Polish Communist Party whose intelligentsia and ideological leadership cadres were in the main composed of persons of ethnically and culturally non-Polish core elements, the Party is in danger of losing touch with society and its "basic" and prevalent norms. He advocated that the Party ought to free itself of the "heritage of Luxemburgism."[40]

In the course of his speech at this post-March, 1968, Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, Werblan said:

> The teaching of ideological subjects is poorly apportioned with respect to time, is centered on the last years of study rather than the first, it is burdened with formalism and suffers from lack of properly prepared teaching cadres.[41]

Torn between consequential adherence to the values the system would ideally like to see inculcated and internalized, and the necessity to survive under conditions of persisting old values, styles and norms, *compromise becomes in itself a value and a style of the system.* Shortage of properly trained and reliable socializing personnel further increases patterns of compromise producing in totality a picture which is a mixture of the new and the traditional, which projects images and symbols which are both of traditional and socialist origin but which are not deeply rooted in either of the two value systems and whose only justification seems to be survival and acceptance in the realm of "legal consciousness." *The half-socialized teacher, drifting between traditional morality and socialist morality but settling on the comfortable and relatively easily assimilated values of "modernity" is thus, in a sense, only mirroring the state of the system and the current political culture.*

Nevertheless, the ideology offers the substance for the formal educational model. If successful it might perhaps eventually result in an *ideological neutralization of the Church* (so it would not compete with the formal socialist ideological system) and, at the same time, tolerate religion-oriented values and styles as long as these persist within society. It was Lenin after all who maintained that it is foolish and naive (a manifestation of "bourgeois progressivist culturism") to fight religion *per se* as long as the masses themselves are not cognizant of religion's "evil" roots in the exploiting system.[42]

In the meantime, official compromise affects the youth which goes through the paces of conforming to chosen aspects of tradition as well as chosen and symbolic aspects of socialism while, at the same time, concerning itself with consumption of whatever "modernity" and technology has to offer.

As Jerzy Wiatr points out: "One can...speak of a discrepancy between the educational goals of socialism and the actual level of consciousness formation of a part of the youth already educated in People's Poland."[43] How large is that youth segment is hard to determine but, on the basis of various empirical studies conducted by Zygmunt Bauman and others it would seem rather substantial. Nevertheless, Wiatr is convinced that when the "chips are down," when the youth will be confronted with the dilemma of choosing sides, especially in a crisis situation, it would not "fail." He writes:

> Should the socialist system or the integrity of the Fatherland become endangered by an external force then certainly the traditional -- known to previous generations -- type of ideological involvement would emerge again among the post-war generation as it did to its predecessors.[44]

But would this involvement demonstrate acceptance of the new values or merely adherence to the traditional and often romanticized value of honor, service on the field of battle, etc.? And, in the face of external threat, how would it be possible to differentiate between the motives for action, whether loyalty to the system or traditional patriotism, is the more compelling force? It is precisely in anticipation of such threats and crisis situations that the system would like to identify itself and its ideology with the concept of Poland and the loyalties that concept commands -- just as in the past the Church managed to become associated in the popular mind with the Fatherland. But to achieve this kind of identification the Party, as the Church before it, must itself assimilate some of the traditional values, condone and compromise with some of the traditional norms and styles, and in the process -- again, similarly to the Polish Church -- lose some of its "purity."

In the meantime the ideologically compromising Party, the Party --

in bid for acceptance -- grown tolerant of traditional national norms and styles, serves as a comfortable umbrella for many upward bound youth who have themselves, in turn, undergone a process of compromise through adjustment to the realities of the system. The Party has become a mass party and as such has further assimilated -- within its ranks -- the elements of social compromise and the remnants of the old value system they have carried along. During the first quarter of 1966 alone the Party admitted within its ranks close to 46,500 candidate members, 40 percent of whom were 25 years of age or younger.[45]

Chapter IV

The Polish Teacher and the Community He Lives In

1. The Teacher and the Community: General and Local

The underlying philosophy of contemporary Polish educational theory could be subsumed into three general principles:

1. The educational system is an important instrument in the construction of a socialist society;

2. The educator's task is to develop a generation which will continue with the work of building and perfecting a socialist society;

3. The "educational ideal" is to develop a type of New Man, a person who has internalized the moral values growing out of the socialist belief system and, at the same time, continues the "best" of Polish traditional culture, especially those aspects of the culture which call for self-sacrifice for the communal good.

In fulfillment of these objectives the individual teacher's role is of crucial importance. In addition, he is, as he always was perceived to be, a vital agent in the cause of general cultural advancement and dissemination within the community. The teacher's role is thus seen in social-missionary terms and, as in the case of religious missionaries, teachers are thereby cast in a position superior (because of the higher commitment they bear and higher knowledge they presumably possess) to that of the community and its standards. At the same time to be effective the missionary should work within the community. The result of these disparate conditions (that of superiority, on the one hand, and community involvement, for the sake of effectiveness, on the other) frequently leads the teacher, as it does the missionary, to a state of being in the community but not really of it.

The bulk of the Polish gentry, having lost its land holdings and traditional economic base, has assumed in conjunction with the priesthood the role of cultural "prodder" within the community. While the priests' prodding was in the direction of religious-Catholic and (especially during times of foreign occupation) national values, the gentry prodding was essentially less parochial. Propagation of religious values was nevertheless part of the gentry mission since these values were seen as part of a national-cultural heritage. But along with this the gentry also became the forerunner of social and scientific enlightenment and thus its cultural mission was broader than that of the clergy. Members of the *impoverished gentry* went out to receive education at home and abroad, learned foreign languages, entered the professions, became officers of the army and members of the political elite once Poland re-emerged into independent status. In short, *the impoverished gentry became the Polish intelligentsia*, and as Professor Józef Chałasiński points out, it, in turn, continued the former gentry class and caste tradition. This tradition, precisely because of its "missionary" role within society, incorporated a contempt for the lower classes (which they perceived as "uncultured"), for manual labor which they saw as depriving man of time and energy necessary for the pursuit of the "loftier" things in life. On the basis of its education, cultural refinement and gentry background, the intelligentsia claimed political and social leadership but, at the same time, remained aloof from the broader masses. It worked in a sense for them, often even took up the cause of social and political reform which would benefit these masses, often even joined radical revolutionary movements, but it did not work with them. In other words, as the missionaries who are in the community but not of it, members of the Polish intelligentsia were with the masses (in theoretical terms) but not of them.

Much of that intelligentsia was wiped out during the years of Nazi occupation. The political revolution which followed World War II found many of them as permanent exiles abroad, in the West. Some returned from exile because they could find no application in a foreign economy for their skills which were generalist, humanistic, or merely geared to specifically Polish conditions (e.g., lawyers, writers, general educators, etc.). Some, both returnees and those who survived the years of occupation at home, joined the cadres of the new political system; others, while going through the paces of employment and service, remained alienated from the revolution and its goals. One of the objectives of the educational system is thus to develop new intelligentsia cadres, and in terms of the ideological tradition of the new regime these new cadres are to be recruited from the working class which, again in ideological terms, would presumably be more loyal than the old intelligentsia to the post-World War II political system and its professed goals.

As was the Polish Church, Polish culture and education was traditionally highly politicized. As the Church, Polish schools and Polish literature, theatre and music, Polish art, were the only institutions of national continuity and awareness during the long periods of statelessness. These conditions cast those active in these areas of professional and social activity in political roles. As Professor Stanisław Turski, the Rektor (president) of Warsaw University puts it: "We know that there were long periods in our history when men of science, education and art were our only politicians simply because fate has allowed only them to work towards the formation of the nation's consciousness."[1]

However, even when "fate" has not been particularly kind or permissive towards educators -- as during the German occupation which differed from previous occupations in that institutions of secondary and higher learning were forbidden to operate -- teachers carried on in secrecy and training institutions of all types were functioning in the underground, including schools of teachers' education, and examinations were administered although none of those involved were certain at the time whether they would survive this period of difficulties and trouble nor even whether they would live long enough to see the light of the next day. Teachers were professionally active in Jewish ghettos, in labor camps, in the partisan forests.[2] In Lublin, only a few miles from the Majdanek extermination camp, a conspiratorial pedagogic lyceum trained and graduated future teachers, and an illegal school of dramatic art was in operation.[3] The "biographical profile" of Zofia Karpowicz, for example, who retired in 1966 after fifty years of teaching, is not at all exceptional or uncommon for the "profile" of many teachers of her generation. She was arrested by the German occupation authorities in 1940 for illegal educational activities, spent five years in jail and camp, was active in the resistance movement before World War I, taught at the elementary and secondary school levels both in metropolitan centers as well as in the provinces. For her activities she was awarded the Golden Cross of Merit (Złoty Krzyż Zasługi) by the People's authorities and the Gold Badge of Warsaw (Złota Odznaka Warszawy), and at her retirement ceremony was greeted by representatives of the school administration, the Pedagogic Council of the school where she was last employed (Orzeszkowa lyceum), leaders of the school's basic Party organization (POP, the school Party cell) and of the local branch of the Teachers' Union.[4]

The teachers' socio-political activities, however, despite the rewards and crosses of merit bestowed upon retirement, were more in the character of rank-and-file soldiers of whatever movement swept the larger community -- spontaneously or directed -- than of leaders. They served for the most part silently and loyally on the fronts of national culture, education, and "consciousness formation." Rather than exerting leadership Polish teachers more often than not tended to follow public opinion or the signals emanating from official authority -- or both for that matter if there was no great discrepancy between the two. If during the interwar period the Polish Teachers' Union was at odds with the Church this was more because teachers were placed on the defensive by the suspicions of the Church relative to public and secular education than because they deliberately challenged the Church and its preachings. Moreover, the leadership of the Union was dominated by liberal and Left-wing elements who, because of the attacks by the clergy, gained sympathy and allies among the progressive segments of the professional intelligentsia, including university professors, traditionally high on the prestige scale. Nevertheless, although no data are available, it would be safe to assume that the relative radicalism of the Teachers' Union leadership was not reflective of similar radicalism among the profession's rank-and-file, although the difficulties experienced by the Union at that period sifted down to the local school level and affected the life of many an individual teacher.

Any living person in Poland who, as Zofia Karpowicz, reached the age of retirement in the middle of the nineteen-sixties is, in effect, a living testimony to man's ability to survive, to overcome the thrust of adverse historical events and turmoil: war in 1904-1905 which involved the entire Czarist empire of which Eastcentral Poland was a part, a short-lived revolution and political reaction which followed the defeat in that war, World War I, occupation, revolution and civil war, a war against the young Soviet republic whose armies reached the gates of Warsaw, military coup d'etat in 1926, World War II and nearly six years of occupation filled with torture and uprisings, and partisan warfare which lasted into the late 1940s. One would imagine that people with such a background -- either self-experienced or relived continuously by literature or word of mouth and thus implanted in the consciousness of generations -- would have a sense of history, a sense of communality in suffering, joy, and frequent disappointment. One would further expect that teachers, charged with instilling in the young feelings of patriotism, of a national heritage, would be especially sensitive to the past which, as Poles are apt to claim, turned their nation into the "Christ among nations," put on this earth seemingly for the purpose of suffering and martyrdom. But apparently such mystical pronouncements do not really affect the degree of one's personal relationship with the past, not even among teachers who are to teach history to the young. Once teaching history becomes a job it becomes formalized, routinized, and tends to induce remoteness between the individual and the community's past. As one director of a lyceum of general education, himself a professional historian close to retirement, told this writer in a personal interview:

> It would appear that one's relationship to the Fatherland's history should have some elements of emotion. Yet the young history teachers I come in contact with take pride in dealing with this subject in a matter of fact fashion, detached and academic.

Q. Wouldn't this be considered a mark of professionalization?

A. Well, not on this educational level and not when it concerns our own history. This is all right in treating such subjects as organic chemistry or some technological subject. Not history, especially our own. A good history teacher ought to be able to leave with his pupils a lasting emotional attachment to his nation's past. And I have in mind not the history of economic development, of taxation, for example, nor even the history of feudalism and its effects, centralization of governmental authority, the growth of productive forces, the emergence of gentry and Church related landholdings. These are merely sketches of events, descriptions.

Q. Are you talking about the teacher's sense of commitment?

A. In a way, but more than that. I am talking about his own excitement with the subject so that it may come alive to his young and impressionable pupils. Take, for example, the story of class warfare in the cities. Here you have a field filled with heroes, colorful events, romanticism, organizational inventiveness -- it would take a teacher enjoying his subject to dig all this out. Unfortunately the formal history texts are not of much help either.

Q. Are you looking for such excitement only in the area of more or less recent history, as is the history of class struggle?

A. Oh, no. Even the history of our kings could be made more appetizing and alive by reference to anecdotal material, even affairs of the heart.

Q. I understand that there is opposition among professional historians to anecdotal history.

A. On the academic level, there should be. But how else can you interest a youngster in the story of Poland's medieval monarchs? I myself had a history professor in gymnazjum who could talk about these things with a glow. But he was also a serious academic historian and a docent at the University.

Thus, the teacher is expected to be atuned not only to the mood of society at present but also to be in communion with that society's past. These expectations seem to be of special importance for Poland since it is in the past that the Pole finds examples of his country as a great political power, of individual heroism, of romanticism, and perhaps also of a style of life which would or could inspire him for the present.

But the teacher lives in the present and must cope with the problems of his day. He is facing not a Poland of titled noblemen, of kings or workingclass martyrs, but a community in which the heroes of the past often exist only in the form of monuments, mass produced paintings, or a name attached to the school building in which he works. Past romantic deeds are mere occasions for festivities at which he must either deliver or listen to patriotic oratory.

The life of a member of the intelligentsia, regardless of his particular occupation, differs with the size of the community in which he resides. Intelligentsia interests are oriented towards big city amenities. Thus, while facing the choice between life in the big community or small town, they invariably choose the larger city. This, on the one hand, deprives the small community of the services members of the intelligentsia may have to offer, and, on the other, induces in the small town residents feelings of suspicion towards intelligentsia members as being alien, transient, aloof, and snobbish. According to surveys undertaken by Bernard Tejkowski in two small towns in the maritime areas of Western Poland, negative attitude towards the intelligentsia is most frequently displayed by lower status white-collar employees (i.e., clerks, low government officials, etc.) and members of the working class.[5] In a country such as Poland in which educational opportunities -- despite efforts towards equalization in comparison with past patterns -- are still very much restricted and are considered a privilege, anyone with a completed secondary education may be considered by smalltown residents as a member of the intelligentsia. Because the privilege of education was attained at public expense, the hardworking graduate of elementary school (not to speak of those who have not completed even this level of education) is apt to look at the educated person as a parasite on the collective body. Limited material resources, social indifference, the suspicion surrounding them, creates in smalltown intelligentsia members a sense of frustration and futility as to the worth of their labors and contributions and they envision themselves as martyrs on an altar of progress, as combatants in a battle they are doomed to lose. As a result, many of them lose whatever enthusiasm they had when coming to the small town and turn to self-centered concerns -- such as promotions, better standard of living for themselves, efforts aimed at gaining visibility with superiors located in larger centers so they may eventually be transferred out of the small town environment. Tejkowski maintains that the period of the system's "stabilization" of the late 1950s has replaced the previously known type of "social activist intelligentsia member" with the "businessman intelligentsia member," that is, one primarily concerned with his own professional status and income. He is marginal to the real life and real interests of the community and consequently is not considered by the town's people as a "natural" leader. Whatever leadership functions he fulfills are of an ex-officio character, in the line of his job assignment. The ruling authority of the small town usually rests with local people, regardless of formal education, who have emerged on top due to their organizational abilities and activism. These are the people who enjoy the respect of the community, are considered to be native to it, and are elevated to formal local National Council positions.[6]

For the member of the intelligentsia living in a small community to become effective (not so much in his profession than as a citizen) he must "go native," become culturally acclimated to the community's patterns.

But once he takes the route of assimilation he may lose standing among his professional peers who are big-city oriented and generally look down at the smalltown person as being provincial, backward, and boorish. A recent Polish short story describes the meeting between a Warsaw secondary school teacher with his brother-in-law who teaches in a small town and likes it there:

> Stach, Henryka's brother, came to us unexpectedly. He brought with him a fat turkey, two homebaked twisted loaves of bread, five kilos of apples from his own orchard... I hadn't seen Stach for years now. He had become even thinner than he was before, his features hardened, his eyes had lost their softness but these were the only external changes one could discern at first glance. But he appeared to be more awkward than he used to be in his relationship towards me. His provincialism came through, characteristically, in exaggerated observance of social etiquette. We here in Warsaw are more relaxed, nonchalant, more sure of ourselves. Stach constantly offered a chair to his sister to sit down, stood up whenever someone approached him, smacked the hands of the ladies with his lips, used his knife and fork with great ceremony, ate slowly. He got stuck in this provincial school of his in Lower Silesia, resigned from all ambition, lost contact with any cultural and creative environment of which he once considered himself a part -- that is, when he still was a student and wrote poetry. They offered him there a five-room, one-family house and this is what tied him to the place. He got married, children began pouring in. He told me how he lives: not much cash but one can manage; he raises pigs, keeps a cow, has his own potatoes and fruit. His children are, bless God, good at school and his daughter shows a talent in drawing. At the table he constantly begged pardon for something, and when I spoke to him he nodded his head in agreement: "of course," "correct," and most often, "precisely." That's why he took me by surprise when after supper, making use of an occasion when we were left alone, he stood up, bent himself over me and said with firmness:
>
> -- I am taking Henryka with me.
>
> I glanced at his hands, dry, hard, peasant like. I asked:
>
> -- What's come over you?
>
> -- I wouldn't permit her to go to waste here! -- his dry hand clenched into a fist. You think I don't see what is going on here?[7]

But the small towns of Silesia are relatively wealthy and modern in comparison with small towns in other areas of Poland, as for example in Podlasie to the East of the national capital. Towns in that area have not grown much in size since World War II although much of their population is new. These are towns (e.g., Łuków, Międzyrzec, Kock, Lubartów, Parczew, Radzyń, etc.) which until the holocaust of World War II were predominantly Jewish. The soil in the area although neighboring the fertile region of Lublin (Lubelszczyzna) is poor and tuberculosis is still a common disease. Horsedrawn carts are still the accepted mode of transportation.

Teachers constitute the largest single segment of the intelligentsia, both in the big cities and the small provincial towns. The teacher who willingly accepts an assignment to Podlasie is one who frequently is still working for his degree, who likes the big city but could not financially afford the pleasures it has to offer. Here, in the small town, television brings him in touch with the world and allows him to partake -- at least from a distance -- in the culture of the metropolis. Tadeusz Jackowski reports from a relatively larger town in Podlasie (Radzyń):

> The director of the local lyceum -- Mieczysław Sawicki -- says that his personal aspirations are fulfilled. Could a teacher hope for something more? Does not the post of director satisfy the ambitions of one who wants to teach? What is left? Any other step on the ladder of advancement would only be in the area of administration. He has therefore declined a promotion to the post of educational inspector. What he still has left are social aspirations, the acceptance, to be exact, often with apathy, of the various social duties often unloaded with a great deal of thoughtlessness on his shoulders. Sometimes these duties bring him to the various horizontal corners of the authority pyramid. Thus, because he is director of the lyceum and at the same time a councilman he is also chairman of the Commission of Education and Culture (of the local Council), chairman (prezes) of the Society of Friends of the Child, secretary of the local party organization. But the chairman of the Commission is professionally inferior to the

> educational inspector although in public life the opposite holds true. How should he act then so as to avoid frictions with the inspector, especially since the latter is a member of the Party Executive?[8]

The teaching component of the local intelligentsia consists of 100 persons who keep to themselves since their lower earning potential gives them a feeling of apartness from other intelligentsia members in the community. Their housing is inferior to that of other professionals; some must travel long distances to work and one female teacher, in lack of housing, occupies the staff room at the *lyceum*. Some teachers supplement their income by tutoring individual students or by traveling to villages to lecture at the Schools of Agricultural Preparedness for 15 *złotys* an hour plus transportation.[9] A teacher-principal in a small town in the equally poor neighborhood of Białystok told this writer:

> Our world is very small and it is for the individual even further narrowed by a set living standard, by occupation, cultural and social interests, personal ambition, often selfishness. We lack some kind of integrative intellectual force, or maybe tradition. The sphere of our intellectual life is simply very limited and most of us know it.

Q. What about contacts with the larger world? With Warsaw? With Białystok?

A. Oh, we have organized group excursions to Warsaw or to Białystok or even to Lublin for the theatre or a concert. Television, if one can afford the price, is our substitute for culture.

Q. Are there any material compensations?

A. Not many. I waited several years for housing assignment although it was promised to me before I came here. If I hadn't taken the job of school principal I would probably still be waiting.

Q. So what hopes are there? I mean, personally?

A. Almost everybody is working for some advanced diploma in the hope that it will get him to the big city. But it is hard.

Q. Why?

A. Because you have to do it on your own time -- especially if you have exceeded the time officially allowed for writing the thesis. Because townspeople view advanced degrees with suspicion and view anyone working for it as a person who does not like it here, despises it here. It has its effects. They want people who are already finished with their studies and who have made peace with life here.

The same teacher-principal who complained about life in his small town in the vicinity of Białystok tried to make it clear in the course of the in-depth interview that he is not only formally a member of the Party but that he, indeed, considers himself to be a good and loyal Communist and he enumerated the achievements the socialist system has brought about. He said: "Look, we have running water here. There was none until 1947." There were other changes unheard of before: leading local Party and administrative functionaries, although self-satisfied and suspicious of the "cosmopolitan" pulls to which local teachers are subject, are enrolled in evening courses in order to complete their own, often elementary, education. The teacher, thus, while viewed with suspicion is also silently admired and envied for the knowledge he has or represents.

Yet, the institution of education, especially that above the elementary level, is not really an integral part of the provincial community. Kwiatkowski writes:

> The lyceum in H. although in existence for eighteen years is until today an alien body. It is simply an institution which has not found a place in the town's model. This model does not provide for a secondary school, a good one, with a well-deserved reputation, highly regarded professionally, one which can show concrete accomplishments. In the web of smalltown personal relationships the teachers have no bonds.
>
> Moreover, the school is constantly making demands upon the town. It demands a new building because the old palace in

> which it is located is simply not suited for its purposes. The school demands protection from the MO (Citizens' Militia, police). The dormitory, especially that for women, is a permanent center of interest to local youth; the barbed wire, partly broken, separating the school grounds from its surrounding is a sort of "no man's land" and very symbolic.[10]

In order to become a part of the community the smalltown teacher is compelled sooner or later to become socially and politically active in that community. By doing so he often, however, has to reverse his role priorities. The educational superiors, although expecting him to be civically active, want him primarily in the school or, at least, they want his extracurricular activities to be an integral part of his educational role. On the other hand, the local political and administrative authorities would like to absorb as much as possible of the teacher-activist's time. He can fill many needs for which there is a manpower shortage: there is always a need for a qualified secretary and keeper of minutes, of a social worker, recreation director, organizer, mobilizer, etc. There is, in fact, no limit to the tasks he may be asked to perform -- from census taker to resource person in the establishment of a new cooperative enterprise. Although he seldom gets paid for these extra chores it is easy to become totally involved, absorbed, and indeed many a teacher becomes one of the town bureaucrats, and the gap between the roles is widened. To many teachers social activism serves as a legitimization for poor classroom performance. However, the tasks he is usually given to perform in the community are the least desirable in terms of popular appreciation. Local political leaders dependent upon local grassroots support and periodic elections tend to shy away from performing unpopular tasks themselves and relegate these instead to the teacher whom they see as the nominated (rather than elective) representative of the system. The teacher's activism thus becomes *ex-officio* in character and, as a result of having to perform unpopular tasks, he as well as the school with which he is identified become the natural objects of grassroots grumbling. That is, *while activism is expected from the teacher and he is often forced into the activist role by small community pressures, he and the schools become the recipients and targets of the community's discontent generated by the nature of the teacher's activism.* He and the school are often the first to be blamed for whatever goes wrong. From the standpoint of the educational enterprise the entire process is frequently self-defeating since in order to be effective the school and teachers must be sensitive to environmental winds.

In his study on the political attitudes of American teachers, Harmon Zeigler observed that in terms of educational philosophy there is a disparity in views between the teachers and the American communities in which they live, whether large or small. That is, with regard to education teachers are more progressive than their fellow citizens. However, in regard to noneducation-related socio-political views smalltown American teachers tend to be more conservative than their community environment while big city American teachers tend to be more liberal.[11] It is rather difficult to translate the conservative-liberal dichotomy familiar to Americans into the Polish context and speak of the Polish teacher's relationship to his community in these terms. The disparity in value orientation between the Polish teacher and his smalltown environment is related often not so much to educational philosophy as it is to style, cultural interests, the whole complex of ideological views and beliefs. The Polish teacher is more involved in the community than his American colleague while not necessarily a part of it. More frequently than his American counterpart, he is cast in the role of an opinion molder while, at the same time, he is subject to his neighbor's immediate direct and indirect pressures. In the small rural community he is often placed in objective terms as the opposite to the priest and the school as a challenge to the Church. On the one hand, "liberalism" might be interpreted in Poland as greater receptivity to the pressures of the Church-oriented community vis-a-vis the demands of the secular authority, but, on the other hand, philosophically, such receptivity and submission to such (community and Church) influences might be considered as "conservatism." The great benefit to the teacher working in a large city in Poland is that he is more able than his smalltown colleague to avoid these cross pressures (between community and Church on the one hand, and the political-secular authorities on the other) and the necessity to take or express a stand, a position. As a result many Polish teachers working in provincial towns dream of a transfer to a metropolitan area. Relevant in this respect are the following excerpts from an in-depth interview conducted with a young teacher with university education working in a small town:.

> Q. How did you get to this town?
>
> A. I came here immediately after I completed my course work at the University. When I came here I was only four years older than my *lyceum* students.
>
> Q. Are you happy here?
>
> A. I am here. At one point I had the opportunity to move but decided to stay. The administration and the older colleagues were nice to me. There is a greater in-group feeling among teachers here than in the big town. We are mutually dependent on each other. In the big city the teacher has many opportunities to leave his profession. I do not want to leave, really. My friends who graduated with me from the University are surprised that I stuck it out this long in teaching. They think me odd because of this. They say "a few years on the job, just to meet the obligation, should be enough for anybody."

Q. Why do they think so?

A. The teacher is generally seen as a person who has not succeeded in life. You know, all the discussions and research on the status and authority of the teacher do not help either because they make it appear as if the teacher is someone to be sorry for, that he is very sensitive with regard to status and authority.

Q. You maintain that this is not true? He isn't?

A. I think that most teachers in Poland want to be treated like normal people, not like some problem. I would like to be treated by the environment on a par with other University graduates, in other professions, both in pay and prestige. No more and no less. I don't think really that we receive what the energy we put into our work would command in some other occupation. I would also like to see the teacher judged by the effectiveness of his educational work, not by his political, organizational, or administrative abilities. Then all this talk about status and authority would not be necessary. It doesn't do us any good except to draw attention to us.

Q. Does the attention bother you?

A. Yes, it does because it does not always result in sympathy or understanding. Someone joked that teachers are sensitive to their authority which they think is undermined when they do not have a television set or an automobile while the big shot father of his student has both a television set and an automobile.

Q. Why do you think teachers are not being appreciated?

A. For one thing, most people do not even know all we do. Our work is not limited to the classroom alone and not only to work among youth. Take, for example, meetings with parents, conferences of one sort or another. Yes, in this town, I must teach the parents as well as their children.

Q. How do you mean?

A. My students are for the most part the first in their families to receive a secondary education. This generates conflicts, misunderstandings. I have parents who do not understand that their children need the minimum of facilities -- both in school and at home -- for learning. And then I have parents who treat their eighteen-year old girl as they would some princess only because she goes to school -- no demands are made on her, nothing. Then you have parents who think it is "coming to them." This is a special category. A bad grade, failure to promote their child, brings on the teacher's head a flood of suspicions, innuendo, and veiled threats. They write letters to the authorities. You will say this is nothing new but it is not very pleasant in a small town where everybody knows everybody and my weakest student's father is a big man and he drinks with the inspector.

Q. Couldn't one appeal?

A. Yes, one could but it often only makes matters worse. One hand washes the other. The teacher is caught between hammer and anvil. On the one hand, there are the goals of the program, and constant talk of the educational level and how to maintain proper standards, and, on the other, there is the school administration with its quota on failing grades, always worried how it will look statistically, worried over funds and savings and so on. Something has to give, one or the other. Either they want the commendation of the inspector (wizytator) because the school has so few "twos"* or they want quality education.

Q. Aren't these matters discussed openly?

A. By whom? The Union is in favor of the failing quota system because it supposedly helps children of working-class background. But this is not so. Most often those who benefit from the limit on failing grades are children of parents with connections in town. Among colleagues we often talk privately of how good it would be to meet face to face with those who set the curricula programs and assign hours for the realization of these programs.

Q. You think the speed set from above is not realistic?

A. Listen, how do they expect me to cover Polish literature from the Middle Ages to 1863 in one year when I have only 2 hours a week, and sometimes these two hours are "saved" for the purpose of extracurricular meetings. As a result, many an important book of Polish classical literature, even Pan Tadeusz by Mickiewicz, is not covered in class but is assigned to the students as elective. Imagine, they come out of a secondary school and know nothing! We do not teach, we are realizing a program of set subjects and hours.

Q. But education seems to be the acceptable vehicle for advancement...

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*Grades range from 2 to 5, 2 being "unsatisfactory" and 5 "very good." Grade 3 or "satisfactory" is passing. Two "twos" on the final annual report card is normally sufficient cause to keep the student on same grade level for another year.

A. Pro forma. Like the prestige of the teacher. Comes Teachers' Day and there will be speeches and articles in the papers, and rewards and flowers. But the teacher is a very lonely person, especially in a small town and especially if he is serious about what he is doing. He is unfortunately not assisted in the process of education by the environment. Some films are prohibited to those under eighteen years of age but you see them in the cinemas anyway. They sell beer and wine to fifteen-year olds because the gastronomical enterprise is eager to make a profit. Try to make an issue over it -- they would only laugh at you. A colleague of mine caught one of his students smoking a cigarette -- he was called into the director's office because the boy's father telephoned.

Q. Have you changed your mind about the small town environment? About your job?

A. As to the job, I like teaching. But about the town: I think the pressures are less in a big city and also one can more easily forget the troubles of the day there. The teacher in a big city does not stick out, does not aggravate so many eyes as here.

What was less characteristic for the prevailing feeling among provincial teachers in the cited interview was the interviewee's willingness to remain in the small community when he had a chance to leave. In a study of teachers, university graduates, J. Woskowski found none employed in the provinces who were there because of their completely free choice. Even those of rural background who presumably would find adjustment to smalltown life easy picked the profession most accessible to them, teaching, because they saw in it an opportunity which would get them away from the provinces and into the "big city."[12] Yet, although smalltown teachers complain of limited cultural opportunities available to them few of their big city colleagues actually utilize what is available, primarily because they lack the necessary financial means. Furthermore, although smalltown teachers complain that they feel isolated in their limited environment and are dependent socially on each other, and envy their big city colleagues their opportunities for wider ranging social contact, Woskowski shows on the basis of his research that teachers located in big cities are also very much limited to their immediate peer group, to teachers of the very same school in which they work. However, lack of wider friendships and lack of utilization of cultural opportunities during leisure time among big city teachers is not due to finances alone: they lack the will, it appears, to join on their own volition groups and organizations which would activate them culturally; they do not even read much outside of assigned and/or required readings.[13] On the other hand, there are teachers in the provinces who become voluntarily and enthusiastically involved in amateur theatre groups which have nothing to do with politics, etc. It seems, therefore, that what makes a provincial town less desirable for a teacher than a big city is not so much the inability to become involved in culture-related activities as the fear of not being able to do so should he want to or financially be able to. Moreover, from a practical point of view, the big city is the place where the "big decisions" are made, where promotions are decided upon. This is also the place where former professors are located, former fellow graduates who have made good, where the universities, research institutes, and libraries are located, where one, especially the teacher with an advanced degree, can perhaps become involved in research, bring himself to the attention of those well-situated in academic and educational circles, and perhaps eventually move out altogether from the professional sphere of elementary or even secondary school teaching. It would appear to be not so much the lack of cultural opportunities that bothers the smalltown teacher as the lack of opportunities for wider professional advancement, away from lower level teaching. And equally important, the big city indeed provides opportunities of getting lost, as it were -- of not being exposed to the public gaze and subjected to the activity demands to which the smalltown teacher is exposed and subjected. They find these semi-official, semi-required activities which have nothing to do with their primary occupation or training exasperating, time consuming, and perhaps even "dangerous" since it puts them in exposed positions on a socio-political frontline still sharply drawn by open or underlying hostilities within the community. They do not cherish such exposure and many do not find themselves personally and emotionally suited for the role. They seem to be rather retiring. It is significant that the large metropolitan-based teacher who finds his school-related work leaving him no time for recreation or the female teacher who has to devote all her spare time to her household (rather than to "culture") is less likely to voice complaints than the smalltown teacher who is involved in such extra-school activities.as a local action campaign, a community drive, etc. In addition, the actual pay for the smalltown or village teacher is less than in the big city, he cannot always teach in his specialty, and, especially in the very small communities and villages, he may have to teach combined grades. The teachers' medical facilities are less developed in the small localities than in the larger metropolitan areas, and, what seems to be very important, the quality of the students seems to be superior in the larger city and thus easier to communicate with although, on the other hand, smalltown and village pupils are often more pliable. Some village teachers, especially young females, who find certain positive aspects in village teaching (such as small classes) complained to this writer about village children frequently being tired and "drifting off," leaving the teacher with a feeling of facing a blind wall, as it were.

Smalltown teachers more frequently than their big city colleagues find they have difficulty keeping abreast of new developments in their field of specialization. They also have less opportunities than the teachers located in university-based communities to take periodic "refresher" courses in their respective areas. But most frequent is the complaint of the various extracurricular pressures both within the school and outside of it in the small town. As one elementary school principal told this writer:

> There is a lot of talk about broadening the teacher's intellectual horizons but in the same breadth demands of various kinds are made on his time leaving him little opportunity for self enrichment. Bah, he even has little time to perform his professional job adequately. Meetings, conferences, reports in addition to all other things.

2. Material Conditions and Status

In the salary structure for employees in the public sector of the economy teachers and medical doctors rate average or below. While medical doctors, however, have opportunities to substantially supplement their incomes through private practice, teachers, especially of elementary and secondary level, have few supplemental sources and those which are available to them do not increase their total earnings appreciably. Within the field of education salary scales are geared to the educational level on which one is employed. Moreover, the formal earnings of teachers in small towns and villages are lower than those of teachers in large metropolitan areas although rural teachers have possibilities -- by living closer to the land -- of aiding their budget by raising some of their own foodstuff or obtaining these from the parents of students and other sources. Generally, limited financial resources prevent the teacher from enjoying many of the cultural opportunities, even if they are available, to which he feels he is entitled. Even though he may not be able to afford theatre, concert, an occasional evening out in a restaurant or night club, the provincial teacher acutely feels the lack of these in his smalltown environment and also feels restrained as to the type of recreation he may properly enjoy without courting criticism from a rather restricted and puritanical environment. Most teachers seek extra incomes by undertaking off-duty teaching, tutorials, etc.

Vocational teachers seem to fare better than teachers of general education or those specializing in humanities or social and theoretical sciences. Vocational and shop teachers have the option of entering higher paying industry or, after expiration of their original employment contract following graduation, they may even seek work in the still more remunerative small scale industry of the private economic sector. In a political culture only now undergoing a process of industrialization and acquisition of technical skill, personnel of advanced technical skills is still scarce, and, subsequently, persons in possession of needed skills are in a more competitive position than, for example, teachers of literature or geography. *Głos Nauczycielski*, the official weekly organ of the Polish Teachers' Union, regularly carries advertisements of mechanical *technikums*, basic vocational schools, or agricultural schools in the provinces soliciting applicants nationally for faculty positions (as instructors in agricultural mechanics, agricultural technology, automobile repair, etc.). Such advertisements usually enumerate the material conditions attendant employment, benefits, including guaranteed housing.

As indicated, teachers of non-technological skills are less fortunate and many who have graduated from institutions of higher learning must settle on a job at the elementary school level although formally and theoretically they should be given employment at least in secondary schools. A teacher with a degree from an institution of higher learning, over thirty years of age and ten years in the profession, told this writer in the course of an in-depth interview:

> What do I think of my colleagues? I think that most of them are conscientious and hardworking. I believe this is traditional with teachers. In addition, the students of today are quick and sharp and this requires that the teacher be on his toes and well prepared.
>
> Q. If you had to do it over would you choose another occupation?
>
> A. I don't think so. I like teaching, it makes me feel young. Students can be terrible and a nuisance but I generally like being with them.
>
> Q. There is a lot of talk about the mission or destiny of the teaching profession, the duty...
>
> A. Empty talk. I don't think teachers like it too much. We are no different than the rest.
>
> Q. What about specific work conditions?
>
> A. Well, there are intrigues and cliquism in each school but one can learn to deal with this. In my own school the situation is not bad at all. We have, I believe, a well coordinated collective, a competent administration although a bit on the paternalistic side.
>
> Q. What about economic conditions?
>
> A. Well, here you have hit our most vulnerable spot, our Achilles' heel. Economic incentives are almost non-existant. This is a poor country and the teacher is among the poorest. What's more, we are left behind not only in comparison with the salaries paid to the so-called technical intelligentsia but also in comparison with the salaries paid in occupations which do not require higher learning or even high skills. This means that the teacher must work overtime, at night, at

tutorials, and the result is that his pedagogic work, his preparation for the classroom, must suffer. His mental and physical health suffers too. In industry they get a premium periodically or quarterly or annually in the form of a "thirteenth month salary" for good work -- we in education are exempt from these benefits. If anything, the opposite is true. Most of our extracurricular activities are either voluntary or for a nominal, almost symbolic, remuneration.

Q. How many hours do you work on the average, let's say a week?

A. This is hard to say. You see our work, the time invested is not set by any norms. You have the regular school day. Then, in addition, meetings of the Pedagogic Council, conferences in school or outside of it, sometimes even away from town in the evening. Frequently we must remain after hours because of a disciplinary problem with a student or because the administration wants to discuss a circular. Then meetings without prior notice of various district or central organizations, the Party, and God knows what else. How many times have I promised to take my child for a walk and could not keep the promise? Or bought tickets from "Orbis" for a play and had to give them away? When something like this comes up, a sudden meeting, I must postpone reading the students' homework or go to class next morning unprepared. You know who suffers in the final analysis? The students. God, if we could hold meetings only when something concrete is on the agenda, if we could only limit our Polish habit of endless talk, empty talk, all this bureaucratism.

Q. Wouldn't the same be true also in other occupations?

A. I often envy my neighbor who is a government official. When my neighbor has a meeting at his place of work he usually knows of it well in advance. When he has to stay in the office after hours or take work home with him he knows that his "overscheduled effort" (nadplanowy wysiłek) will be appreciated and awarded both in terms of prestige and in material terms. I read recently, I believe it was in Widnokręgi that our students are too overburdened with homework, that more stress in education should be given on work during regular school hours so that the student may be assured of rest and recreation. And our professional press demands of us that we spend more after school hours with students, with youth, with the many self-education circles and clubs. How will it all end? You know, the work day of a good student could not possibly be finished before midnight. Perhaps this is good: since only good students should become teachers, only the healthiest and most persistant will survive and eventually reach the profession.

Q. You mentioned that the students are bright and that you like them. How is their attitude towards teachers?

A. I think that the students and their parents view the educational sector as a social and charitable institution. I think we should treat them in the secondary schools in the same manner as students are treated at the institutions of higher learning. That is, make an end to the constant pleading that they return to class when they don't want to, the tendency to almost forcefully promote them (przeciąganie), lift them by the ears to a higher class when they should be left behind. This would end many a conventional phrase and opinion about the schools and the teachers. They think that we "must teach," that it is our "duty" to promote even those who are not fit once they are in school. You know, honestly, I think they take us for suckers (frajerzy) and don't give a damn about us.

Although empirical studies conducted by Polish sociologists (e.g., Sarapata and others) would indicate that the teacher in Poland enjoys a high prestige and that status is not related to income, many Polish teachers feel discriminated against or slighted both in terms of prestige and income and apparently see a relationship between the two.

As for most Poles living in large urban centers, for teachers housing is also an acute problem. In 1957 a few hundred employees of the educational system in Warsaw (e.g., teachers, education administrators, etc.) organized themselves, through the Union, into the housing cooperative "Education." The cooperative erected its first apartment building in a residential settlement along Washington Street in Warsaw and over the years has built a number of additional structures, in the same area (Washington-Kinowa Streets). "Education" is presently planning to build apartment houses in other locations of Warsaw -- midtown (in the vicinity of busy Marszałkowska Street where a new residence settlement is being founded) and in the southern part of the city (e.g., Świętokrzyska Street, the Batory district). Many of these are multistoried high rise buildings but since they include within each building recreational facilities (e.g., clubrooms, etc.), offices, large lobbies, the actual space allocated to tenants is rather limited. In 1966, for example, the existing buildings contained only 3,000 apartments of various size while the waiting list contained 15,000 names. According to Z. Chrupek, Chairman of the housing cooperative "Education" (Oświata), the waiting period for a small apartment -- in a building already constructed or under construction -- is at least two years and for a larger apartment (of what is officially designated as M-5 type flat) at least three years. While imposing from the exterior, many of these buildings show serious interior defects. Residents complain of frequent breakdowns in the elevator system, power failure, poor soundproofing, weak water pressure affecting those living on the upper floors, water leakage, stairs separating from walls, falling plaster and bricks. Because of the desperate need for housing some of the buildings are put into residential use before completion. One resident of the teachers' cooperative building at Grójecka Street (part of the Wiejska Street complex) complained of lack of hot water (which at best reaches only the lower stories), of lack of heat, etc.. This particular apartment house is thirteen stories high and the residents on the upper floors are able to take a bath only late at night as only then can they be assured of a sufficient water supply. Because of poor soundproofing and insulation the residents of the lower floors complain about these midnight disturbances. Only when the malfunctioning central heating system is not in operation can the residents of this modern-appearing structure hope for an uninterrupted flow of hot water. The resident said:

> Even with the central heating system off hot water did not run long through the faucet. The new heating tanks broke down and remained broken. It is very inconvenient, to say the least.

As inadequate as the new cooperative houses are they are beyond the financial reach of most teachers. As a result *only a minority of the residents in the cooperative houses designed for those working in the field of education are bona-fide teachers*. To recapture their capital investment the cooperatives are compelled to open the apartment vacancies and waiting lists to those who can actually afford the initial price regardless of their occupation or profession. The chairman (*prezes*)of the Polish Teachers' Union (ZNP) Committee of the Warsaw District, Stanisław Jeziorski, spoke of the housing problem facing teachers in all of the Mazowsze region. He discussed the need to somehow regulate housing allocation and assignments, especially for newly employed teachers, in the cities of the area. The problem of housing for young new teachers is of particular urgency because they are not even entitled to join a housing cooperative and be placed on the waiting list, even should they possess the necessary funds. Only those with tenure of several years, those with seniority in the profession, are eligible for membership in a teachers' housing cooperative. This limitation was necessary to stem the existing pressure for vacancies and new building construction. And, as Jeziorski pointed out, the housing cost is far beyond the financial abilities of teachers, especially young ones.[14] The question of building construction both for school plants and for teachers' housing, is a frequent topic of parliamentary (*Sejm*) discussion. Deputy Maria Augustyn of the United Polish Workers' Party (PZPR) and a member of the *Sejm* Commission for Education and Science said at the end of one such debate:

> Our discussion proved that the most important present problem facing us is that of securing some kind of material base for the reformed elementary school system. Of equal importance are the matters of building teachers' housing, of full realization of the financial resources mapped out in the plan for school investments, as well as the question of training and perfecting the teaching staffs.[15]

Thus, although in terms of general public perception the status of the teacher may be high, he himself perceives his prestige to be rather low and this low self-esteem seems to be directly related to his, the teacher's, economic status which he sees as being inadequate in comparison with that of others in the public sector or within education itself. Similar conditions may exist elsewhere -- that is, conditions of relative economic insecurity of teachers in comparison with other occupations -- but in Poland the demands and expectations placed on the teachers and on education -- because of the need to meet the goals of transformation -- seem to exceed the demands and expectations placed on education and educators in more "settled" political systems. Even the salary increases given teachers lag behind the pay increases accorded others within the public sector of the economy. The socio-political activities into which the Polish teacher is drawn, coupled with his need to seek additional income (especially if he must support a family), affect the quality of his professional work with the result that he is often unable to meet the high expectations placed upon him by the public in the area of his primary occupational obligation -- teaching. That is, while the political authorities may prefer the teacher-activist, the general community (e.g., parents, students, others) may lend the teacher who falls behind in his primary educational function its own disapprobation. Whereas, however, poor quality work in other occupations is not necessarily associated with inferior personal qualities, the "inferior" teacher is often perceived by the community as an "inferior person" generally. This is so because he deals in the sensitive area of child education and because so much is expected of him. Although the public is not always willing to pay for the education of its children, it views work of inadequate quality in this area as almost "criminal." The poor shoemaker may only have damaged a pair of shoes but the poor teacher is seen as "damaging" something precious both in terms of the individuals concerned and in terms of the nation's future. The teacher's work is seen as more directly affecting the life of society than that of a shoemaker or a tailor. In Aristotelian terms, the good teacher is a good citizen, regardless of the constitutional orientation of the state, and, conversely, the "bad" teacher is identified with the "bad" citizen. He, the teacher, is seen in a citizen-building role but whereas the political authorities may place greater emphasis on his citizenship building efforts outside of the classroom, the community places its stress on his subject matter performance in class.[16]

As a consequence of these circumstances, of which poor economic conditions seem to be of primary consideration, although many teachers interviewed indicated that they like teaching and would not like to leave the profession, some 80,000 persons left the occupation between 1953 and 1963. Significantly, 77.1 percent of those who left the teaching profession were between the ages of 21 and 35 and three-fourths resigned somewhere between the first and ninth year of teaching employment. It is the younger teacher, raising a family, who is economically most affected. Moreover, being new to the profession he does not enjoy some of the privileges accorded older teachers (e.g., cooperative membership, housing, etc.), he is low on the professional status ladder while, at the same time, his possibilities for change of occupation are better than they would be for the older person who is more settled in his profession and has managed to shape some kind of reputation for himself. Most of the teachers who left the profession were employed on the elementary school level, the lowest in terms of pay within the educational structure. Among the reasons given for leaving were: low pay, lack of prospects for the future, bad relationships with administrative authorities, job difficulties, family considerations, etc.[17]

Moreover, the elementary teacher's community status and his low self-esteem, his feeling of inadequacy, of being a "bad teacher-bad person", are likely to be further increased as the general level of education in society increases through the universalization of education, including that brought about by the network of evening courses, "people's universities," etc. In the past the teacher was not infrequently the only person in addition to the priest who was able to read and write, not to speak of formal education; by losing his monopoly on knowledge he is apt to lose some of his erstwhile prestige even in the village. This might precisely be the reason for the low-status ranking of teachers in technologically advanced Western societies -- the members of the community feel they know as much or perhaps even more than their children's elementary school teacher. The media have further popularized knowledge so that many a pupil may be ahead of his teacher in certain areas, thus further shaking the latter's self-confidence. Within the profession itself, the graduate of a SN type of teachers' training school or even the graduate of a Higher School of Pedagogy who has passed his final course examinations but has not yet written his thesis and thus not received his degree (of Magister/Master) does not enjoy the status, the privileges or pay of a graduate of an institution of higher learning in possession of his degree. The past *respect accorded aristocratic titles (even if these titles were not backed by material wealth as in the case of the impoverished gentry) has been substituted in this political culture by the respect accorded academic or functional titles* (e.g., "Mr. Doctor," "Mr. Magister," "Mr. School Principal," "Mr. chairman-*prezes*," "Mr. Manager," "Mr. Director," "Mr. Secretary," etc.). The aura of the title even projects to the titleholder's spouse.

So the teacher is frequently forced to "moonlight" and seek other sources of income in order to make ends meet. Popular dailies carry long lists of advertisements -- in a special column on education -- inserted by teachers seeking off-hours work. They advertise tutorials in foreign languages, conditioning students for the passing of preparatory examinations, remedial work in mathematics and physics. They usually specify their qualifications: long experience, *magister* (MA) degree, professional standing, etc. Some mention the price of their labor, usually rather moderate: about *10 złotys* an hour for individual tutorial work in preparation for the matriculation examinations on the secondary school level. Single teachers may ask for meals or modest sleeping accommodations in lieu of payment in cash.

The gap between teachers' income and prestige is the highest among all occupations, regardless of whether intelligentsia or not, whether within the private or public sector of the economy. That gap is, of course, in favor of his prestige which is much out of proportion to his low income. Among other occupations only nursing approximates -- but not quite -- that of teachers. On the other hand, the gap between prestige and income with the gap weighted in favor of income is strongest generally among those working in the private sector of the economy. Only for such occupations as skilled steelworkers, machinists, and unskilled work does the level of prestige approximate that of income (see Table 1).

Table 1

Relationship-Gap Between Prestige and Income of Occupations: Warsaw Area*

Rank Order of Gap Between Prestige and Income	Occupations Whose Income Exceeds Its Prestige		Occupations Whose Prestige Exceeds Its Income
		High Gap	
1			Teacher
2			
3			
4			Nurse
		Medium Gap	
5	Shopkeeper		
6			
7			
8	Private Tailor		
9			University Professor
10	Ministerial Member of Government Cabinet		
		Low Gap	
11	Private Locksmith Unskilled Construction Laborer		Medical Doctor Mechanical Engineer Agronomist Railway Conductor
12	Shop Assistant		Office Cleaner
13			Airplane Pilot Accountant Office Clerk Factory Foreman
14	Lawyer Policeman Army Officer		Typist
15	Priest Office Supervisor Small Farmer		Journalist
		Occupations of Coinciding Prestige-Income Relationship	
		Skilled Steelworker Machinist Unskilled Worker	

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*Based upon data supplied in Adam Sarapata, "Social Mobility," Polish Perspectives, English language edition (Warsaw), Vol. IX, No. 1, January, 1966, pp. 18-27.

Table 1 makes clear, for one thing, that Poland is generally a poor country where no one's personal income is so glaring that it would highly exceed the prestige accorded his occupation. The tendency is rather for occupational prestige to exceed the material reward accorded its practitioners. Generally, intelligentsia occupations (except of lawyers) enjoy higher prestige than income. As indicated, generally those engaged in the private sector of the economy enjoy higher incomes than prestige. Where People's Poland departs in occupational-prestige relationship from the previous Polish patterns is in the low prestige (and exceeding income) of such traditionally highly prestigious occupations as membership of the governmental cabinet (i.e., cabinet minister), army officer and priest. Also, physicians, whose income in the past equaled their high prestige, have been left behind in People's Poland, especially on the income scale. However, the departure from traditional patterns noticed above in a sense conforms to tradition: That is, while the professions of cabinet minister and army officer have retained their relative income standing they have fallen behind in prestige because the social class background of those involved is different from what it was in the past. While before World War II army officers were recruited from the impoverished gentry and urban intelligentsia, and cabinet posts were the monopoly of the upper social classes (including the intelligentsia, the gentry, and high army officers or gentry of intelligentsia background), the ranks of the professional army officer corps are presently filled by sons of workers and peasants and members of the governmental cabinet are either preceived to be or are indeed of workingclass or peasant background. In other words, the present Polish prestige pattern would indicate that Polish society, as it was in the past, is highly structured and class conscious with non-intelligentsia, traditionally non-gentry classes and groups rating lower on the prestige scale than occupations still associated with intelligentsia and gentry background. The position of priest while it has declined from what it was in the past in terms of prestige -- probably as a result of official "re-education" and the general decline in the official power position of the Church -- has changed, in effect, rather negligibly. Relatively high income private entrepreneurs (e.g., shopkeepers, private tailors, locksmiths, farmers) are low in prestige not merely because they make money (which in terms of pure socialist morality would in itself be enough to qualify them for low status in addition to being "anti-collectivist") but because they are of lower middleclass-worker-artisan-peasant background and engaged in traditional low prestige occupations. Shopkeeping never rated high either in terms of socialist morality or Polish traditional and poor gentry influenced prestige patterns since this occupation is seen as socially parasitic in nature. The shopkeeper is a middleman between the consumer and producer and thus perceived to be (both from the standpoint of socialist idealism and Polish romanticism) as socially unproductive himself, almost immoral, and not normal to healthy socio-economic relations. In the past, the fact that shopkeeping in Poland was in large measure a Jewish occupation contributed, on the one hand, to antisemitism and on the other, gave that endeavour a particular stigma in Polish eyes.

The relatively low prestige -- beneath their income standing -- accorded occupations directly related to the government (i.e., cabinet minister, army officer, policeman) may also indicate a gap between the political system and the larger community and its socio-political culture.

While prestige patterns are determined by community values and traditional norms, the incomes are set by the rules of the political authority and governed by that authority's needs and perspectives, with the economic market and its demands having only a limited impact on the results.

Yet, despite the seeming gap between the official values and those held by the community-at-large, the teacher who runs afoul of authority senses the shakiness of his position not only from the attitude of his superiors but also from that of his colleagues and others within the community. There is fear that association with the deviant may ill affect the position of those so associated. Consequently the teacher who attracted the ill-will of the authorities feels isolated, outcast, and his feelings of security are lowered. A female teacher in a secondary school in a large city in W. Poland told this author in the course of an in-depth interview:

> There is a lack of sincerity in interpersonal relations. Some of my colleagues are like barometers. Their attitudes towards a colleague would change according to how this colleague is "noted" (notowany) in the eyes of superiors. One could almost read from their attitude how one fares with the authorities at any given moment.
>
> Q. Are they opportunists?
>
> A. Of course. But the situation which results is very delicate and wrought with dangers to the individual concerned. Rumors abound as to why the given person is in disfavor. Since the real reasons are not always known -- they are not even known to the individual affected -- imaginary causes for the misfortune are often advanced among colleagues. People begin to imagine things, they will try to speculate: So and so is in trouble because he did such and such a thing although in reality he may never have done it. However, before long these rumors attain the status of facts and are added to the charges noted in some official dossier. Quite often people will shy away from an individual simply on the basis that some institution or someone higher up has something against him without ever even thinking about the reasons for the difficulties. The assumption is that there must be a reason.

Q. Do these people hope by such behavior to improve their own standing?

A. You see, those who agree with everything the authority does or says are well looked upon. It is stupid because no questions are asked as to the sincerity of such agreement. Yet the bureaucrat would rather deal with insincere agreement -- it is easier to handle -- than with sincere disagreement although we are constantly being told that no progress is possible without an honest and open confrontation of diverse opinions. You see, patience and kindness in interpersonal relations or even in discussions among colleagues or within the Party organization is not one of our virtues.

The protagonist of Korab's 1969 short story, a teacher under official fire, found that some of his colleagues would not talk to him or would communicate only in some noncommittal fashion, that the school custodian would not acknowledge his greetings and even the janitor of his apartment house began to look at him askance. Only an elderly teacher on the eve of her retirement showed some open sympathy and support for the man in plight.[18]

However, this also seems to be a society permeated by jealousies and competition for limited stakes. Thus, while the teacher on the brink of demotion finds himself alone and isolated, the teacher favored with promotion fares not much better. In the above cited interview the interviewee said:

> The person who is being advanced finds himself frequently in a very lonely position. Oh, on the surface his colleagues will be nice to him but behind his back they will say that he was promoted because of pull (protekcja) and so forth. Sometimes they will advance innuendos as reasons for the promotion such as the person promoted is in the service of security and so on. In my own case, being a woman, my promotion was attributed to my friendship with a Party secretary although he honestly had nothing to do with it. Moreover, the Party Secretary at the time of my promotion was a woman.

Nevertheless, the social status of teachers generally is still high in the sense that the profession is one held in theoretical esteem. This esteem is symbolized if not by corresponding pay scales by rewards and public recognition. Teachers are recognized and rewarded not only on special occasions such as the Day of Teachers but also at the annual award granting ceremonies staged by the central government, the local authorities, as well as by the Party and the Front of National Unity, (Front Jednośći Narodowej, FJN). Moreover, in addition to their being given a variety of socio-organizational functions -- some of which, as indicated, are of an unwelcome nature -- teachers are also drawn into membership of largely honorary (and thus prestigious) committees formed on the eve of festive occasions. Thus teachers' representatives will be included in local Committees in preparation of the First of May celebrations and will share such membership with other leading citizens and representatives of the Party, FJN, the army and the Militia, the industrial enterprises, cultural, artistic and scientific enterprises. It was estimated in 1963 that 110,000 teachers held office in various socio-political organizations and 16,000 of them were members of National Councils of various level of administration.[19] Of a total of 460 deputies (one deputy per 60,000 population) in the Polish parliament (Sejm), fifty-four were members of the teaching profession during the 1961-65 term. They constituted thus the fourth largest occupational-economic group in that body, after workers (62 deputies), engineers and technicians (62), farmers (59).[20]

The extent of teachers' involvement in the community can be gleaned by the example of Kock, a county seat some 49 kilometers from Lublin. Prior to World War II the town was a center of Jewish chasidism and is known as the birthplace of Colonel Berek Joselewicz, a Polish patriot of Jewish descent who in 1809 fell there in battle against the Austrians. The area is also the site of the last battles of September 1939. The branch of the Teachers' Union in Kock has 71 members employed in the elementary school, the general education *lyceum*, the vocational agricultural-mechanical school and the kindergarten of Kock itself, as well as in the few elementary schools in the neighboring villages. Of the 71 teachers 11 are university-level graduates, 16 hold diplomas from teachers' colleges of the SN type, four are still working for their university degree and 13 are taking correspondence courses from a SN. The training background of the remaining 37 teachers is unknown. Expected to be socio-politically engaged, the teachers of Kock and its vicinity are indeed involved in a variety of civic and political organizations as well as in organs of administrations, such as the National Council, the Red Cross, the Union, the Party, the Union of Socialist Youth, the Union of Rural Youth, the United People's (Peasant) Party, agricultural circles, ladies' clubs, etc. The teacher Roman Wlazły, who is chairman (*prezes*) of the local branch of the Teachers' Union, is simultaneously the chairman of the Association for the Propagation of Physical Culture (*Towarzystwo Krzewienia Kultury Fizycznej*) and Chief of Staff of the local ORMO (*Ochotnicza Rezerwa Milicji Obywatelskiej*), the Militia (police) Auxiliary; the female teacher Bronisława Kopec from the neighboring village of Tchórzew is a member of the village (*gromada*) National Council and chairs that Council's Commission on Culture and Education; she is also a member of the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the County Teachers' Union and active in the United People's (Peasant) Party (ZSL). The teacher Marcin Stepien, fifty-eight years in the profession and the holder of several distinguished awards and medals, among them the Golden Cross of Merit, the Cross of the Order of National Revival (Krzyż Kawalerski Orderu Odrodzenia), is active in the Teachers' Union, a member of the town's National Council and commandant of the Voluntary Fire Department. Other teachers are similarly involved if not similarly honored.[21]

Yet the teacher is worried over his prestige and standing in the community and over the threat to his status. At the same time some of them are concerned lest the continuous public debate over teachers' prestige will have the adverse affect of creating doubts as to the teacher's "proper" position where none existed before. As one teacher in a provincial town told this author:

> I am concerned that the constant complaints of my colleagues regarding the diminishing status of teachers will have unforseen effects and indeed contribute to a lowering of our prestige in the community.
>
> Q. I take it then that you are not too worried over your present prestige.
>
> A. No, that is not it. I am not an extreme optimist but at present from where I am sitting I do not see what the worry is all about. Teachers are complainers it seems to me.
>
> Q. You personally have no complaints?
>
> A. That's not it either. I have some complaints but on the whole I have always encountered community sympathy and assistance from the local (terenowe) authorities. Here I am, with higher education, working in what others call the dead provinces (zabita prowincja) but I really have no regrets. You have to believe this. I have held various posts here, both in education as well as generally, I am well respected. Teaching gives me a great deal of satisfaction.
>
> Q. Why do you think other teachers are dissatisfied?
>
> A. Why? It is simple. You see, the teacher by virtue of his occupation is supposed to be the pronouncer of and commentator on the general political line of his government. If he does this job well and honestly and in accordance with his own conviction he will not or at least should not meet with disrespect in our country. When the line is correct and the results meet people's hopes and expectations the

> authority of the teacher and the school should be correspondingly high since it is the school that fires the hopes and defends the line.
>
> Q. Is it all then a question of politics?
>
> A. Not entirely. It is natural that the individual characteristics of the teacher should reflect on the profession in the eyes of the environment, locally I mean. However, one has to look at it from a global perspective and in terms of principle. The question really is: do teachers manage to generate public confidence in themselves and in what they are supposed to stand for? This is the measure of the teachers' authority, confidence, trust. It would be tragic indeed if the position of the teacher under our system should be lower than it was. I don't think it is.

By thus placing the problem in larger political terms this particular and personally satisfied teacher has perhaps pointed his finger at one of the cornerstones, as it were, upon which teachers' prestige in Poland is based and according to which it fluctuates. The teacher's status and standing in the community is not only a function of his knowledge vis-a-vis the community but also of the popularity of the political system of which the teacher is viewed as a socialization agent. That is, the teacher's prestige would fluctuate with the extent to which he holds a monopoly over knowledge and useful skills, with the extent to which education is perceived as being instrumental towards social and economic advancement and the teacher thereby viewed as a facilitating or hindering element to be reckoned with, and, finally, the extent to which the teacher represents a system and a set of values which are popularly acceptable. The latter would hinge upon the system's ability to deliver promises, meet hopes and expectations, but also upon its ability to overcome traditional and anti-systemic values and prejudices. The teacher in Poland is seen as an ex-officio agent of the system and thus his future social status may very well hinge upon community acceptance of that system, in addition to the position of the other variables related to skill and the value of education generally. In this respect the teacher's situation is similar to that of the army officer and the member of the government cabinet, activities traditionally held in high esteem. Their presently lowered prestige is due, of course, to the greater recruitment of traditionally lower class persons into these positions but also to the linkage of these occupations with a system which is not yet fully in tune with the prevailing political culture and community sentiment. Like the army officer and cabinet minister, the teacher's prestige suffers by proxy.

3. The Teacher's Immediate Occupational Environment

Polish educational guidelines emanate to the school through the organization of the Ministry of Education and Higher Learning and the organization of the United Polish Workers' Party. The latter's Department of Science and Education (headed during the period of this study by Andrzej Werblan and his deputies, Henryk Garbowski and Zenon Wróblewski) offers programatic and policy guidance to the former. Yet the lines of responsibility between the Party and the governmental administration concerned with education are not very sharply delineated. The Ministry may initiate educational policies and innovation while the Party may concern itself, if it so desires, with matters of school construction, salaries, school and curricula administration, etc. What emerges is a joint form of management of the educational enterprise with parallel loci of authority but in which, especially if conflict should arise, the voice of the Party takes precedence over that of the governmental administration directly in charge of education. The Ministry directs its school affairs through the local _kuratoria_ and the Party through the local Party committees each of which contains a department or bureau of Science and Education. Although the central authorities -- both Party and government -- exercise minute supervision and guidance, much discretion is left to the local functionaries who may not, however, contravene or contradict the intent of the central powers. In addition, local National Councils through their own Departments of Education and Culture, supervise, assist and become generally involved in school affairs under their territorial jurisdiction. Local problems may involve adjustment of general policy but on the whole the job of the local authorities is to see to it that general guidelines are implemented and that school facilities should meet certain standards, however vaguely defined.

The individual teacher, however, is subject to the scrutiny and frequent pressures of those concerned with matters of education both within the Party and the government. A powerful Party functionary or a commandant of a local Militia unit (MO), or the chairman of a local National Council -- although not directly responsible for educational affairs -- may at any time involve themselves in these matters and exercise a strong voice in a decision. Such a wide network of authority, obviously,may create jurisdictional disputes and may offer possibilities of playing off, as it were, one source of authority against the other. Generally, however, homage is paid to the wishes of the Party and the MO, and should any conflict arise the school authorities and those in government would retreat in the face of demands from the Party and security organization. The teacher in difficulties with the Party or security authorities could hardly expect protection from the school authorities who are easily intimidated.

Formally, the teacher may look for protection, in addition to the school authorities, also to the Polish Teachers' Union. However, although charged with guarding the teacher's welfare and security, the Union, as the school authorities, would shy away from problems of political sensitivity.

In his daily professional life *normally* the teacher is subject to the supervision of the school principal (or director, in case of secondary schools). He is usually himself a teacher, usually of senior status, and presumably also of political reliability. *By choice or circumstance the institution of Polish education (of either level) has not encouraged the development of the profession of educational administration.* The *rektor* (president) of a university is elected from among the faculty for a set period and he is expected to engage in teaching and research while in office and to return to the faculty ranks upon the expiration of his administrative term. Even the Minister of Education, as for example former Minister Wacław Tułodziecki, was a working teacher prior to his assumption of the cabinet post. The teaching load of a principal in elementary school depends upon (a) his own professional credentials, whether or not he is a graduate of an institution of higher learning, (b) the size of the school in terms of number of grades and of staff employed, but, in any case, a principal on the elementary school level teaches a minimum of six hours a week. Usually he teaches in the area of his specialization (on the secondary level) or he teaches civics, sex education or a similar subject (on the elementary level). A principal whose elementary school employs a staff of six teachers will teach on the average 11 hours a week himself if he is a graduate of higher education and 16 hours a week if he lacks such education.[22] Similarly, his *additional pay* for his administrative duties will vary according to the size and type of school but ranges from a minimum of 150 złotys a month for a principal in an incomplete six grade elementary school to a maximum of 600 złotys a month for one in charge of a full secondary school.

Generally, the instructional program, including syllabi as well as speed in fulfillment of course work, is set in advance and handed down to the school by the central administration. The individual teacher and his school are also given little discretion as to the choice of text books or other educational aids. It is only in the area of general character education that the guidelines are vague and much discretion is left to those in the field. However, as ill-defined as the subject of character education may be, the teacher and principal would try to make a good impression and meet the performance expectations of the school inspector who may visit the school at any time, announced or unannounced. The school inspectors sent on periodic "visitations" by the locally based kuratoria are themselves professional educators with long standing in the system and their concern seems to be with the quality of instruction in the traditional subject matter fields rather than with civics, general morale building, etc. The tendency is also for more frequent inspections in the higher grades of education than in the lower, with special emphasis on visitations in classes of Polish language, mathematics, biology, geography, physics, vocational training, history, physical education, Russian language instruction -- in that order of frequency of inspection -- than on activities related to character building. For example, while 104 hours of inspection were devoted in Warsaw elementary schools during 1961-62 to Polish language classes only 2 hours were given to inspection of student government, clubroom activity, etc. Forty-four inspection hours were given to school festivities and ceremonies during that period in Warsaw elementary schools.[23] This might indicate that in addition to the continued lack of crystalization as to political and moral value education, the professional educators actually in the field continue to promote the traditional educational role of the school system to the neglect of its political function advanced by the Party and the political system, and that there might thereby be a conflict between the intent of the policy planners and the performers in the field. Yet, the school principal is responsible for the standards of behavior and ideological position of his students and staff. While his own performance is subject to scrutiny and complaints from various quarters he is also the first recipient of complaints and pressures concerning individual teachers and the school. In addition, complaints addressed to higher authority find their way eventually to the desk of the principal. The Department for Elementary Schooling of the Ministry of Education receives annually close to 2,000 complaints from parents, pupils, educators, concerned adults dealing with the behavior of teachers, school principals, etc. Józef Szymański who has compiled these complaints for the period 1960-62 maintains that most deal with allegedly immoral behavior of teachers and with school principals who are being accused of unjustifiable conflicts with parents, unjust grading, inadequate professional preparation, and even financial wrongdoing. See Table 2.

In addition to the principal, the Pedagogic Council, the Parents' Council and the other formal and directly school-related authorities, the teacher must also serve as liaison with the economic enterprises in the community. Some of these enterprises help the school by providing buses for outings, periodic financial assistance for needy students or special

Table 2

Complaints Addressed to Ministry of Education Regarding Teachers, Principals and Elementary Schools During Period 1960-1962*

Subject of Complaint	Nature of Complaints	No. of Complaints		
		1960	1961	1962
School Principal	(Conflict with parents, physical punishment of students, neglect of work, financial mismanagement, failure to adhere to code, conflict with teachers)	207	435	346
Teachers	(Inadequate professional preparation, unjust grading, conflict with parents)	90	203	203
Teachers and Principals -- Behavior Outside of School	(Housing problems, misuse of public property, drunkeness, quarrelsomeness)	110	214	154
Pedagogic Councils	(Mutual conflicts, conflicts with principal)	112	124	56
Parents' Committee	(Conflicts with principal, conflicts with teachers, with parents, cooperating institutions -- e.g., patrons, etc.)	17	13	25
School	(Unfair grading, forgery of documents, corruption, including bribery)	116	77	166
Treatment of Pupils	(Transfers, dismissal, monetary fines)	130	174	162
School Administration	(Appeals from principals and teachers, parental complaints)	36	31	17
Misc.		1089	674	482
Total No. of Complaints		1907	1945	1631
Total No., Elementary Schools		26179	26345	26367

*Source: Józef Szymański, Rola kierownika w doskonaleniu pracy szkoły podstawowej (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1965), pp. 82-83.

school projects, resource persons, etc. In return, the school may provide the enterprise with entertainment programs during special festivities, voluntary work -- if needed -- in time of vacation, etc. Sometimes, the collaboration with a community organization lacks in material benefits but, instead, provides both parties with mutual moral support. Thus, for example, Elementary School No. 210 located on Karmelicka Street in Warsaw, in the area of the former Ghetto and in the vicinity of famous Pawiak Prison, was named after the "Heroes of the Pawiak." Only the original front gate remains of the old prison -- a museum dedicated to those once incarcerated behind its walls is presently located in its place and a monument which comprises a wall featuring the dates of Polish martyrdom in which the Pawiak played a role. During the rule of the Russian czars fighters for Polish independence were imprisoned in the Pawiak, leaders of the revolutionary underground; in the interwar period Communists and others were kept there (and in the adjoining "Serbianka," the Womens' Prison) -- but it was during the Nazi occupation that the Pawiak became a human slaughterhouse, a place of execution and of debarkation to assorted concentration and extermination camps. The Club of Former Pawiak Prisoners maintains patronage over Warsaw Elementary School No. 210 and, in return, the children of that school tend the flower beds around the Pawiak ruins and the old tree which is decorated with plaques to commemorate those who perished behind the prison walls. The children of the school light candles at the site on appropriate commemorative occasions, stand vigil, etc.

To the young teacher, however, the principal is the first person with whom he must reckon. If the first job brings him away from home he looks to the principal not only as an occupational superior but also as a parent surrogate and protector. In a sense, the principal is to the young teacher what the sergeant is to the young army recruit -- a person to be feared, guided by, relied upon, to be cautious with. The first meeting between the young teacher and his principal or director can be a traumatic experience. One female teacher, Rozalia Bieszczadowa, describes in a letter-to-the-editor of the official Teachers' Union organ, Głos Nauczycielski, her first encounter with the principal of her small-town school. It was cold and the principal, a fat woman, came out on the veranda of her house adjoining the school and told her that she could not expect the school to help her with housing and that she would have to find some on her own. The principal did not invite her to enter the warm house nor the school office -- the first conversation took place entirely on the veranda, in the cold air, with passersby and neighbors looking on. It was a degrading experience, Bieszczadowa maintains, and she pleads for principals to be friends, advisors and colleagues of younger teachers.[24]

Perhaps to compensate for experienced humiliations the teacher tends to assert authority with pupils and to guard that authority jealously. Some teachers even take pleasure in humiliating the parents of their pupils for the offspring's misconduct or inadequate performance. Parent-teacher conferences often turn into ordeals for the former. And in time the teacher also learns to adjust to his immediate environment and to "handle" the principal. Mikołaj Kozakiewicz writes:

> Another way of gaining for oneself authority and weight, in addition to bullying children, is to become a busybody in school and the community. Such teachers tend to denounce their colleagues to the principal, the principal to the inspector, they try

> to become active in all self-management authorities, social and political, they instigate one against another, participate in informal caucuses prior to elections to the council of the village cooperative, they assist in "finishing off" the existing chairman in order to replace him with their own candidate or to gain themselves a seat on the council, etc., etc. They are everywhere, dip their fingers into everything, nothing can occur without them in the village or the small town, but everywhere they appear they are accompanied by meddling, intrigue and gossip. They become involved not because they want to see things run smoothly in the village or town but because they desire to broaden their own influence, to increase their own authority and weight, so that they would be reckoned with, feared.[25]

However, these kinds of activities which bring the teacher -- often against his intent -- greater visibility also expose him to more rigid behavioral expectations. Since the teacher demands "perfection" from his environment, "perfection," in turn, is demanded of him. He, the teacher, is responsible for the upbringing of the younger generation and should therefore serve as the model of perfection. This consideration plus the teacher's activism in addition to the grievances accumulated by his occupational work (grades, the administration of examinations, conflict with the parish, village work, etc.) makes the teacher an easy and convenient target for gossip, intrigue, defamation, and in one known case, in the _Województwo_ of Koszalin, the object of assassination. The teacher's innocent attention towards a student of the opposite sex is easily misinterpreted in the imagination of the youngsters, and parents may accept that interpretation as valid.

Mikołaj Kozakiewicz maintains that the files of the Disciplinary Commission of any _kuratorium_ are full of denunciations against teachers related to misinterpretation of seemingly normal and innocent behavior. He consequently advises teachers that if, for example, they must participate in periodic dances organized by the school they should avoid a dancing style which might be appropriate for a big city night club but might be misunderstood in a village or small town. He also cautions teachers not to pay too much attention to any one particular student of the opposite sex and, if dancing, to change partners as frequently as possible. Male gymnastic instructors are urged to avoid the habit of catching female students jumping over gymnastic equipment, especially on the secondary school level, but instead have a strong girl perform that chore.[26]

Generally, teachers are advised -- for the sake of self-protection -- to avoid fraternization with particular parents lest they may be accused of favoritism towards the children of these parents, and principals are urged to avoid any drinking and chumminess with select teachers under their jurisdiction.

While dangers related to misunderstood sex relations, to inflamed imaginations, fraternization with particular parents or students or teachers, are limited largely to teachers working in small provincial towns and villages, the dangers inherent in classroom discussions on problems of politics, ideology or current events are present everywhere. Not to stifle discussion, in order to bring out the maximum participation, an atmosphere of sincerity and of give-and-take must be generated in the classroom during such discussion. However, the teacher knows that he subsequently may be blamed for tolerating the expression of a student's unorthodox political views or for allowing himself to deviate even momentarily and for didactic reasons from the "approved political line." Kozakiewicz writes:

> ...helplessness and apathy on the part of educators may generate in the older youth an attitude of hypocrisy which expresses itself in the rather prevalent phenomenon of "praising a certain program on the outside," and "condemning the same program privately." This is a phenomenon created under the pressures of external and environmental conditions. A person hopes to derive certain benefits from publicly making certain declarations which he "privately" rejects. A person may try to avoid through such public declarations certain unpleasantness, such as barriers to his career, admission to higher level of education, professional advancement, etc.
>
> Such behavior is clearly contradictory to the ideals of socialist education, and, in fact, does harm to society and causes demoralization.
>
> What are the remedies? How can such fatal effects of political education be avoided? What are the means whereby the dissonance in the views among students, and between students and teachers, can be discovered early and unloaded and balanced? There are remedies and these are quite simple. First -- the educator and teacher must himself be wise, politically engaged, ideologically mature, knowledgeable of the psychology of youth. Second -- there must be in the entire school an atmosphere of sincerity, of free and animated ideological debate in which no one would be afraid of future punishment and repercussions so that every teacher may know what each student thinks at any given moment about our country, our political system, our construction, what he likes in it as well as what he finds irritating or disturbing. Third -- the whole of political education must be based upon far-reaching, theoretical premises and perspectives and goals of socialism rather than on momentary policies and actions which may be only passing in nature, ephemeral.[27]

What the latter means is that stress should be given to the elements of unity within the socialist bloc, for example, rather than to "temporary" difficulties; similarly, the basic differences between socio-political systems should be emphasized rather than momentary difficulties or alliances between countries of diverse systems. The task is to lend broader perspective to current events which the student may know anyhow from other sources (e.g., television, press, radio) rather than to dwell on specifics, on the periodic ups and downs, "zigs" and "zags," rapid changes in policy which may only create confusion since the policy of tomorrow may contradict the policy pronouncement of today.

As in the case of miners, steelworkers, railroad employees, maritime workers, the teacher's employment is regulated by the Karta Nauczyciela. Only those employed in institutions of higher education are exempt from the provisions of the Karta. The Teacher's Charter defines in rather precise terms the educator's rights and obligations, as for example:

1. The teacher is nominated to his post. Only in exceptional cases is his employment subject to a contractual agreement;
2. The termination of a teacher's services does not require notice of three months as in other kinds of employment; it occurs by special process;
3. The teacher is entitled to extra remuneration for additional work loads;
4. Teachers' retirement pensions are governed by special provision and by the highest pension norms;
5. The teacher's vacation is to last as long normally as the school vacation but in any case should not be less than six weeks (in the case of teachers in special educational institutions). In addition the teacher is entitled to time off with or without pay for reasons of health, continued education, etc.
6. Teachers of merit are to be given special title of "Meritorious Teachers of People's Poland" (Zasłużony Nauczyciel Polski Ludowej);
7. The Polish Teachers' Union (ZNP) is to enjoy special statutory privileges.[28]

A special status of April 27, 1956, further regulates the rights and duties of teachers as well as the terms of their employment. Thus, the teacher's individual record is open for examination at all times; remuneration is to be commensurate with tenure in the profession and tenure itself is extended to include practice teaching; teachers are to be given initial housing assistance; severance pay; special favorable retirement provisions; special rewards in the form of honorary titles; special statutory rights granted to the Teachers' Union, etc. Obviously, many of these provisions (as, for example, that concerning housing) are frequently not fulfilled due to material and other local difficulties or are exercised rather arbitrarily with regard to individual applicability.

The Teachers' Union, however, is a powerful organ and does speak up for the interests of the teaching collectivity if not for the rights of individual teachers, especially if in personal political difficulties. Theoretically, the highest policy organ of the union is the Land Congress of Delegates and between congresses direction is exercised by the Executive Board. The union is divided into professional sections (including one encompassing those employed in higher education), and geographically into regions (okręgi), districts (odziały) and branches (ogniwa). On the central level the union is pretty much directed on a day-to-day basis by a professional staff, many of whom are former teachers or teachers temporarily on leave from their occupation.

All persons employed in the field of education belong to the Teachers' Union regardless of whether or not their specific function is directly related to teaching. Generally, however, the union stresses its political-didactic functions within the larger society in addition to the functions of professional and occupational character. In its daily activities the union collaborates with the formal school authorities and is concerned with the achievement of the official education goals. In this respect the Polish Teachers' Union does not differ from other Polish unions which work closely with management for the achievement of given targets and enterprise programs. Union meetings are attended by representatives of the Department of Education and Science of the Party organ of appropriate level. Thus, for example, a meeting of the Executive Board of the union will be attended by representatives of the Department of Education and Science of the Central Committee of Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) while local meetings will be attended by Party representatives of similar level.

The Teachers' Union will organize educational and recreational activities for their members on a regional basis. These may include outings, picnics, interschool or intercity contests, lectures, concerts, etc. At the end of June, 1966, the Teachers' Union of the Kielce region staged a spartakiada for its members which involved a variety of competitive sporting events.

In their private and informal conversations teachers will address each other in the traditional forms of Pan and Pani or Panna (Mr., Mrs. or Miss) but in official parlance it will be "kolega" or "koleżanka" (colleague), depending upon the gender of the person addressed, rather than "towarzysz" or "towarzyszka" (comrade) which is reserved for Party-sponsored gatherings.

High administrative posts, including posts in the field of education, are assigned with political considerations rather than on the basis of professional competence. Moreover, such high posts are also assigned on the basis of a "key," with a given number of posts going to each of the political-organizational components of the Front of National Unity. This "key" (klucz) is weighted in favor of the dominant component of the

Front, the Polish United Workers' Party. However, an ambitious person can build a power base for himself through active membership in one of the Front's minor political groups (such as the United People's or Peasant Alliance, the Democratic Alliance, etc.) since these groups must be given some representation, however insignificant. The allotment of high administrative posts according to political considerations and organizational balancing frequently creates paradoxical situations and individual hardships, as illustrated by the following in-depth interview:

Q. When did you begin your career in education?

A. Personally I started in 1947. At that time I was one of the youngest people in a leading post in the field of education. I was advanced from what we call "a social base" (awans społeczny). That is, my formal training or education did not really equip me for the post but, instead, socio-political criteria were taken into consideration.

Q. How did you do?

A. I think I did rather well. But I thought that my subordinates resented my lack of professional qualifications and it hurt, frankly. I also came to the conclusion that energy and dedication alone are not enough -- and believe me, I was both energetic and very dedicated. But I was afraid that there would come a moment when the problems would surpass my abilities and qualifications. I began to feel acutely my lack of adequate higher education, especially in formal child psychology, sociology, and so on. These feelings of inadequacy became increased as new, young people entered the field and talked a language wholly unfamiliar to me. They kept on referring to studies and tests and methods I never heard of. Frankly, although I accumulated through the years many diplomas of recognition, given to me at First of May celebrations, I felt that these are not a sufficient substitute for a real diploma. It became rather embarrassing.

Q. What did you do then?

A. Well, you may not believe it but I went back to school. I was not the only one to do so at the time. One of our leading Party secretaries went back to school for an advanced degree. He found that the education he obtained in the anti-Nazi underground or in jail during the interwar period was not enough to cope with the problems of today, especially with the rapid change in science and technology. Well, to make the story short: I went back to school, finished correspondence courses at an SN, gained entrance to the University. It took over nine years of murderous labor. I had a family to feed, exams to pass. If not for my wife I never would have managed. Also, superiors and professors helped a lot. After graduation I was convinced that the road to further advancement is now really open for me.

Q. Was it?

A. Yes and no. Because of my new professional qualifications I was transferred to a new job but with considerably lower pay. Subsequently the living standard of my family became lower. I had to resort to seeking additional incomes, such as writing articles for journals, working on a book which is an outgrowth of my dissertation. But my pay is still less than what it was when I was a political appointee. Moreover, my present pay is less than that of older persons in my present capacity since they bring to their job greater expertise. Now I have to compete on professional expert grounds while before I belonged to a different category altogether. In my present position the only way I can substantially increase my salary is to move from job to job. If one stays in the same post too long his salary falls behind those newly hired on the same level of employment. Presently, after three job changes I have finally reached a more or less decent salary level and am making more than my colleagues here who lacked the courage to resign. My present job is, as you can see, concerned with curriculum development in vocational education and it is rather gratifying. I have contacts with people in industry. I enjoy the scope of my activities. But who knows, maybe I will soon have to change jobs again in order to satisfy my economic needs. In fact, I have a few prospects.

Q. What about commitment to one's work?

A. There would have been greater commitment if the pay that goes with it were more justly allocated. If I had stayed on my old post, before I went back to school, I would have done much better financially. I also would have had other benefits, such as an official car and so on.

The greater payoff accorded those who make their way through the political ladder rather than those who move ahead through the slow grind of professional-expert advancement is a reflection of the "superiority" within the system of "politics" over expertise. Pull, protekcja, traditionally played an important role in this political culture where the right personal and family connections and class meant so much. At the same time it also reflects a condition in which the values of expertise knowledge and of work have not yet become sufficiently ingrained into the social consciousness although much verbal and symbolic tribute is paid to these values and much talk is devoted to modernity, technological change, scientific progress, etc. Also, as long as the criteria of success are not measured in terms of productivity but rather in terms of socio-political adjustability, acceptability and survival, the tendency is for the organization to reward the person of political connections rather than the person of professional-occupational competence. These considerations affect persons employed in all branches of the economy, industry as well as education. The kurator is likely to be the politically well-connected person rather than the educational expert. In Yugoslavia, on the other hand, where the enterprises must manifest independent survival capacity, without expecting an outside agency such as the government or Party to come to their assistance and bail them out of difficulties, maintaining a political "hack" on the payroll so that it will please higher authority becomes a luxury the self-sustaining enterprise can ill afford. Consequently, in Yugoslavia it is no longer enough to "look good" politically, one must be good professionally. Poland apparently has not reached this stage of "apoliticization."

Not only do useful "political connections" include position in the Polish United Workers' Party or any of the constituent organizations of the Front of National Unity but also connections with the Church-related network of relationships. Many persons interviewed, especially members of the Party, spoke bitterly of the "Catholic cabals" or "cliques" existing within the union and within the organs of administration which "look out" for their "own" (*swoje*) and push these to fill desirable vacancies and posts. The person with such connections finds himself, allegedly, favored in terms of promotion, vacation time, housing, etc. Many interviewees maintained that in effect these cabals and cliques operating from within work to subtly discriminate against Party activists who are known for their anti-Church position. One interviewee when questioned about this in greater depth said:

> Don't get me wrong. When the Party has its heart set on pushing ahead a certain person no amount of sabotage from the religionists could stop him. But without the explicit backing of the Party, especially when it concerns higher posts, the Party member is often at a disadvantage when competing for the same post against a person favored by the Catholic clique.

The problem of political favoritism is therefore not as simple as would appear at first glance with the Party member having advantage at all times. Party connections are, of course, most important for personal advancement but these are not the only connections useful to the individual. Given the traditional social structure and the persistance of traditional values within the larger community, even Church and parish connections can be useful, despite the official position of inferiority accorded the Church. Connections with the hierarchy could be of great importance especially when the person with such connections competes against someone with no connections whatsoever.

In the course of his field research this author has attended several conferences of the Polish Teachers' Union: a county-wide conference in a village in the Białystok *Województwo*, a city-wide conference (Warsaw), and three regional conferences (one in Katowice which included teachers' representatives from Katowice, Częstochowa, Bielsk, Cieszyn, Sosnowce, Chorzów; one in Kraków which included representatives from Kraków, Nowy Sącz, Tarnów; one in Toruń which included teachers from Toruń, Bydgoszcz, Grudziądz, and the rest of the Pomerania region).

In addition to the delegates (for example, the Warsaw City conferences listed 156 participants representing 42,500 Warsaw members of the Teachers' Union) each conference was attended by representatives of the union's Executive Board, members of the editorial board of the *Głos Nauczycielski*, representatives of the Central Trade Union Council, members of the local *kuratorium*, leading members of the local Party organization. The school authorities were represented at the County conference by a rather young looking regional school inspector. The Chairman of the Teachers' Union, M. Walczak, and the Vice-Chairman, Władysław Ozga, attended the conferences in Warsaw and Kraków while another Vice-Chairman, Professor Zenon Klemensiewicz, was in evidence only in Kraków, and still another Vice-Chairman, Marian Rataj, came to Katowice. The Warsaw conference was addressed by the secretary of the Warsaw Party organization, Józef Kępa, the Katowice conference by a member of the Party's *Województwo* Committee for Education and Science, Z. Gorczyca, and the Kraków meeting by W. Loranc who holds a similar position in the Kraków *Województwo* Party organization. The Katowice and Krakow conferences were also addressed by a leader of the United People's (Peasant) Alliance (*Zjednoczone Stronnictwo Ludowe*, ZSL), and that in Kraków by a representative of the Democratic Alliance (*Stronnictwo Demokratyczne*, SD), In addition, representatives of the local or regional National Councils were present (e.g., Presidium of *Województwo* NC and First Deputy Chairman of the Katowice *Województwo* Party organization, Bolesław Lubaś; Vice-Chairman of the Presidium of the Warsaw NC, Jerzy Wolczyk; chairman of the Kraków *Województwo* NC Presidium and Vice-Chairman of the *Województwo* Committee of the ZSL, W. Zydroń; chairman of the Kraków City NC and *Województwo* SD, Jan Garlicki, etc.). The Warsaw meeting was also attended by a representative of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Polish philosopher of education, Professor Bogdan Suchodolski, and by Madame Maria Jezierska of the Association for Secular Schools (TSS). In Katowice a representative of the *Województwo* Military Staff (Colonel K. Furmankiewicz) addressed the gathering briefly. He spoke on the relationship between education and national defense. The Katowice conference featured a major address by Politburo member Edward Gierek.

Except for the much smaller County conference which took place in a village setting and in which the young looking school inspector and the regional and Warsaw-based union leaders were actively participating, this observer had the impression that the teachers-delegates felt generally unrestrained and expressed themselves rather freely both during the work session as well as in semi-private gatherings in the corridors. Especially at the rural conference a lot of discussion was devoted to the problem of State-Church relations and the need for increased secularization of the school system. But generally in all these conferences the stress was on a few themes:

1. The ideological-political posture of members of the teaching profession;
2. Problem of inadequate school plants and facilities;

3. Problem of inadequate and poor housing for teachers;
4. Problem of continued education for teachers in elementary and secondary schools;
5. Organization of Teachers' Day celebrations;
6. Relations between administrative authorities and the Teachers' Union (closer contacts were urged);
7. Activities in local branches (many branches were accused of being inactive or dormant);
8. The role of the union in the school reform program;
9. Problems of teachers' welfare in addition to that of housing;
10. Economic investment in education;
11. Problem of teacher's authority and status;
12. Conditions of non-teaching staff in the field of education;
13. Need for popularization of scientific research findings and textbooks;
14. The burden of extracurricular work;
15. Problem of coordinating educational theory with educational practice;
16. Problem of Church-State relations and secularization.

Many complaints were heard from the floor. These concerned not only the perennial problem of housing but also the problem of retirement pensions which although relatively high for teachers nevertheless were found to be inadequate; medical care, vacations; working conditions of kindergarten teachers, the poor working conditions and poor pay of school maintenance personnel; problem of overtime pay which is either inadequate or nonexistant; inadequate school equipment reflecting general low level of investment in education despite official pronouncements to the contrary and official statements as to the priority accorded education; inadequate rest and vacation facilities available to teachers; too many meetings which teachers are required to attend; poor quality of work; apathy; lack of familiarity among teachers with recent pedagogic trends; problem of rural schools and dormitories.

Teachers spoke of the heavy burden placed on them by the demands for social activism which takes them away from teaching, interferes with their primary function but, at the same time, counts little when an individual is being considered for advancement within the educational system. Teachers demanded that their rewards be commensurate with the expectations that society holds with regard to the profession. It was pointed out that many National Councils, especially those in the rural areas are either not concerned about the material problems of teachers or if they act, for example, in alleviating the need for housing they deduct the funds spent on this purpose from the general educational budget (supply funds, etc.). As a result, it was pointed out, teachers are made to suffer either by having to settle on poor accommodations or on poor or inadequate work facilities. Poor housing hinders the realization of the reform program in the Kraków area, for example, since it prevents the proper distribution of teaching manpower where and as needed. Only 43.7 percent of the teachers in Kraków itself possess the proper professional qualifications but the situation is even less favorable in the provincial towns and "intolerable" in the villages which simply cannot attract experienced and qualified teachers because of the housing shortage or unwillingness of local authorities to provide teachers with same. Only 45 percent of the teachers applying for health rest in existing sanatoria could be accommodated due to lack of vacancies and other facilities. Similar conditions exist in the Union's vacation centers in the Kraków area (e.g., Limanowo, Nowy

Sącz, Wadowice). Teachers encounter difficulties in obtaining personal loans and the authorities allegedly show greater concern for the material base of the physical plants of education than for the human element in education.

Katowice area teachers maintained that the union's regional Retirement Home in Mikuszowice does not meet existing needs and demanded that the union speed up the opening of the new regional vacation center at Jaszowce. It was pointed out that the union does not adequately safeguard the interests of the non-teaching staff (e.g., office clerks, custodians, cooks, etc.) who are dues-paying members of the union; that the union fails to mobilize behind its demands the "natural allies" of the educational enterprise -- e.g., parents, social organizations, enterprises, etc.

It was brought out during the discussions that teaching effectiveness in vocational schools is not what it is supposed to be and that there is a need, therefore, to develop new educational principles and forms to accommodate vocation-bound youth; that there is a need for greater collaboration between professional scientists and university level personnel with those in elementary and secondary education, and that persons in higher education bear a special responsibility since the system lavishes greater material rewards on that sector of education than it does on the lower levels. Finally, teachers spoke quite frankly about what some called "the poor atmosphere" surrounding education, of conflicts with school authorities, but when pressed for specific details they again enumerated examples of housing, long working hours, inadequate pay, inadequate retirement pensions, demands for extracurricular chores, etc. Some speakers were quite bitter about the union's failure to defend individual teachers and that it is more concerned with the fulfillment of overall systemic plans and programs. There were complaints of frequent criticism in the media, especially the daily press, of teachers and the schools. It was felt that such criticism by "uninformed laymen" while playing up to community emotions tend to lower the authority of the teaching profession, affect its prestige, and the union was urged to actively intervene with the proper authorities to curtail such "unjust" press coverage. The last demand was incorporated in a formal resolution at the commencement of the Katowice conference.[29]

Thus, within certain limits, teachers, especially teacher-activists, are free to criticize and they do talk, especially where their professional interests are perceived to be threatened. Teacher-activists apparently feel that they are "insiders," partners, as it were, to the system and, therefore, free to criticize certain aspects of that system's operation while, at the same time, accepting its basic premises.

However, individual teachers are "small fry." The protagonist of Korab's short story, fired from his job in secondary education, his wife forced to resign from her position as a librarian because of the "deviations" of her husband, waited in vain to hear his name mentioned publicly among the "enemies of the people" following the disturbances of March, 1968. Names of "deviant" writers were mentioned and attacked in the press as well as on radio and television, names of university professors, scientists, politicians -- but not a single name of an elementary or secondary school teacher although some of them supported the demonstrating students.

Teachers talk but apparently *there are distinctions -- with respect to repercussions for talk and criticism -- relative to the style, the form of such talk and criticism, as well as with respect to the target*. Some is tolerated while some is not. The type of brutal persecution that took place against malcontents under Stalinism is apparently no longer existant but more subtle forms of persecution exist, especially if an individual highly placed in the bureaucracy feels personally challenged by a malcontent's behavior. The highly placed personage may tolerate criticism of certain aspects of the system but feels threatened by attacks which would reflect on him personally, and, on the general plane, criticism against the basic assumptions of the system or against the Soviet Union -- criticism of which is viewed as fundamental deviation -- is viewed with disfavor. Zbigniew Kwiatkowski investigated the case of a teacher who served as chairman of a local branch of the Teachers' Union and ran afoul, in the performance of his duties, of the school authorities. This was during the period of Stalinism, prior to the "Polish October" of 1956. After that October which brought Gomułka back to authority, the teacher's old enemies were still around and they accused him of harboring pro-Stalinist sentiments in the past, a fallacy in the post-1956 conditions. He was expelled from the Party but went on to win awards for his professional performance. However, in 1964 he found himself once more in difficulties: he became the scapegoat for administrative failures in his school. Once in difficulties other charges were heaped against him: excessive drinking, loose sex, etc. Rumors floated and the investigation continued. Permeating this entire real life story is the admonition "you are only a teacher so who are you to rock the boat. Teachers ought to mind their own business and keep quiet.

Teachers are at the mercy of those in power." He found himself transferred to an inferior post -- although according to the Charter teachers cannot be transferred against their consent -- and appeals to the union for protection were to no avail. In fact, these appeals intensified the hostility towards the wayward and solidified the united front of the authorities, including that of the union. He was deprived of his certification and thus relegated from secondary level teaching to an elementary school, his credentials changed from "specialist" to lower paying "generalist." The more he complained the harder he found himself hit; complaints to the Party generated the hostility of school administrators and, moreover, lost him the support of individual colleagues who view such appeal as inviting outside interference into problems which should be resolved within the "educational family" and consider the enlisting of the Party as treason to the professional code. Yet, after checking out the facts in the case and testifying to their correctness, Zbigniew Kwiatkowski, a very astute observer of the Polish social scene, concludes that the faults are not really with the system but with the people in charge, the actors of that particular drama.[30]

Despite the drastic dimensions of the story, Kwiatkowski maintains that the case of the teacher he wrote about is not an isolated one. Teachers may manifest a sense of solidarity on issues of general concern to the profession -- issues, such as inadequate housing, inadequate working conditions, etc., which are generally acknowledged -- but when it comes to defending an individual threatened by "authority" solidarity somehow crumbles. All the affected individual may hope for is the sympathy of other individuals expressed in various degrees of passivity or quietism. On the other hand, the front of the forces of repercussion against the "threatening" individual is much more solid and includes the authorities of the school, the Party, the police as well as that of the union bureaucracy. In this contest between individuals on the one hand and authorities acting in concert on the other, the cards are obviously stacked in favor of the latter and the outcome is "rigged" in advance. The officer of authority who perceives himself menaced by an individual responds as if authority itself were threatened, and once put in such light one authority enlists the support of other authorities who, in turn, act as if the system itself is at stake. The individual can appeal, he may plead, but the authority, now impersonal and united, has all the advantages: it can accuse without producing documents if rumor will suffice; it does not have to adhere to "due process" if it can cite in its support the "community of public opinion," If some official should want to come to the defense of the individual under authority's fire, he is restrained by organizational pressure, solidarity, fear of "sticking his neck out," fear of responsibility. Moreover, there is always the assumption that no accusation is wholly groundless, that where there is smoke there certainly must be some fire. The authority can hide itself behind formal rules, confidentiality, the need for discipline, in order not to explain its behavior -- it assumes certain statutory prerogatives. As one administrative official put it to this author: "The people's authority has rights and is not accountable to anyone but the people." It is circular reasoning since the authority claims to be the people.

Now, many in Poland blame this state of affairs on the vestiges of Stalinism still persisting in patterns of administrative behavior and procedure.[31] It would appear, however, that in this political culture --

despite its former anarchic tendencies -- authority traditionally tended to assume the mantle of omnipotence. "Authority knows what it is doing because if it doesn't it would not be authority." This does not mean that people necessarily agree with what authority does but only that authority knows what it is doing and that it has a right to act in terms of its own wisdom and interest. Presently the content of the authority symbol has changed, in People's Poland the White Eagle has lost its traditional royal crown, but it commands its traditional allegiance nevertheless. The honorary place on the wall of the prewar Polish classroom featuring the portraits of Marshal of the Army, the President of the Republic and also a cross, now feature the portraits of the First Secretary of the Party, the Chairman of the State Council, the crownless White Eagle -- but, as before, these symbols command awe and allegiance. The principle of individual rights or the tradition of individual challenge to the system was never really rooted in that political culture although individuals may rise in lonely flight of defiance, protest, or indignation. The hero of Korab's short story, lonely in his fight against authority, deserted by even most of his teacher-colleagues, pleads with his wife that they go to a neighborhood movie house which features a Western: "Let's go to the cinema... A Western. It is a good lesson: imagine, one fellow takes on and takes care of a whole gang of them."[32]

To the individual teacher whose behavior does not posit a challenge to the system, however, the Teachers' Union can be useful in overcoming various obstacles on the road to existence and adjustment to the hardships of life. Union intervention can be crucial in arranging the admission of a teacher's son or daughter into secondary school, or in some institution of higher learning, or in gaining a place in a school dormitory.

The local union branch can be helpful to the teacher in other ways as well. A retired female village teacher said in the course of an in-depth interview:

> I started in 1945 as a teacher without any formal credentials, unqualified really. I began in a little village school. The war was still going on in the West.
>
> Q. You are retired now, aren't you?
>
> A. Yes. I live here in town in the House of Teachers. It is a nice place to live in, especially when you are alone. Many other colleagues in my circumstances live in the house.
>
> Q. How do you get along otherwise?
>
> A. Financially, very poorly. The pension I receive is very low, about 1,000 złotys a month. However, local colleagues help out if a real emergency should arise.
>
> Q. Like what?
>
> A. If I should need special medicine. The doctor advised that I need some foreign drug which could be obtained only through the PKO. Somehow the union arranged that I got it. The union also helped me in getting my daughter admitted first to the State Textile Technikum and then to the University in Wrocław. She studies chemistry there.
>
> Q. Are you the only one the Teachers' Union helped in this way?
>
> A. Not so much the union as such but colleagues, local colleagues, of the union. Thanks to their help children of teachers are able to go to secondary schools and gain places in the dormitories (internaty). You see, this town is too small to support a secondary school and the children must go to secondary school away from here.
>
> Q. What do you think of the younger generation of teachers?
>
> A. Well, they give me worries. In our country career-mindedness was frowned upon. A careerist (karierowicz) meant a pusher, a person who would ruthlessly push ahead, even over dead bodies. But our young people speak unabashedly about making a career, about making money, security, and they see nothing wrong in it. They lack idealism, I tell you. Things have changed. In the past people would have these things in mind but it was not in good tone to speak of it.
>
> Q. Don't other people speak of money?

A. Yes, they do, I did, with you. This is because things are so difficult, so hard here. But financial worries are not career worries. Maybe I am oldfashioned.

Q. I heard teachers complaining about their prestige. How do you feel about it?

A. Prestige? Money I have none but prestige, homage, I get plenty. Even retired teachers like myself are honored and remembered. Former pupils of mine, now leading citizens in the community, remember me on my birthdays. On that score I have no complaints. The county (powiat) authorities are good to us, I think, so is the union. Even the school inspector drops in from time to time for a chat although there is nothing for him to inspect here. But, of course, we get little money with all this.

Tenure in the profession seems to exercise a socializing influence on teachers making them adaptable to demands, acquiescent to conditions which younger teachers may find irritating. This adaptability was noticed among older teachers generally and not only among the retired ones. This may be a function, partially, of resignation, of having made peace with one's lot. Younger teachers are more impatient, chafing at the bit, as it were, and, in fact, as elsewhere, in Poland too the greatest attrition in the profession, the greatest loss of manpower, takes place during the first ten years of teaching. Elsewhere this may be explained by the feminization of the profession, especially on the elementary level, a condition in which many young females are lost to teaching through marriage, the necessity to raise a family, etc. In Poland, however, as in other socialist countries, where both husband and wife seek employment, partially because the woman's official status of "emancipation" makes such employment "honorable" in ideological terms, partially in order to meet the manpower needs of the economy, and, finally, to pull together family incomes each of which is rather meager, early exit from the teaching pro-

fession would indicate some kind of dissatisfaction with teaching both as career or as a source of livelihood. Willard Waller has pointed out the extreme disenchantment felt by younger teachers in the United States with their profession and the same condition seems to exist in Poland as well.[33] To use another analogy with the United States, Harmon Zeigler in his study of American high school teachers has found that conservatism increases with the age of the teacher while, on the other hand, political cynicism and alienation decrease. While he attributes the increase in conservatism to the process of aging rather than accumulated tenure in the profession, Zeigler views the decrease of political cynicism and alienation as direct results of experience in teaching.[34] Yet closer examination of Zeigler's data suggest that even conservatism, rather than being a mere by-product of aging, is also an attendant condition of years spent in the teaching profession. In the United States this might be a result both of increased income of teachers with years in the school system as well as a function of adaptation to the larger political system and its values which one begins to view, with age and security, as worthy of preservation. Thus while growing conservative, the teacher with years in the profession also assimilates the norms and styles of the organization and begins to see positive elements in many of the features which he found unpalatable at a younger age. He has learned his role, become adjusted, and made peace with the expectations the system has towards him. If by conservatism we are to understand an increased acceptance of the system's officially sponsored values and styles, the Polish teacher with tenure -- in common with his American counterpart -- manifests greater propensity towards political conservatism. He somehow learns to acknowledge and internalize the system's signals, especially if these signals are clear in their message. As was indicated earlier in this study, the Polish teacher also develops a measure of cynicism in the process of becoming professionalized. He learns the rules of the game, he learns to adapt and to take certain things with a "grain of salt," a shrug, without developing personal aggravation but, instead, to somehow manipulate the situation so that he may derive from it the maximum benefits. However, while personally and professionally cynical perhaps his political cynicism (measured, as Zeigler does, in attitude of contempt for politics and politicians) may indeed undergo a decrease (with a simultaneous increase in political conservatism in the sense of adaptation to the official systemic ethos) with tenure in the profession. If so, the Polish teacher would again bear a similarity to his American colleague. The Polish teacher thus reaches the system through membership in the profession, and, consequently, the paradoxical situation may obtain that the older teacher although physically brought up in a presocialist environment may very well be less alienated from the present Polish system than is the younger teacher although the latter is himself a product of "socialist education." Thus both in terms of their absorbtion, political conservatism, and political cynicism, as well as in terms of alienation, the teachers in Poland and the United States seem to share something in common. As in our previously discussed study of attitude towards sex morality, our further investigation into non-sex-related attitudes, towards religion on the one hand and secularism on the other, may very well bear out the contention that membership in the teaching profession itself serves as a factor of socialization into the existing political system. This condition may hold true for teaching in

Poland as well as other political systems, including that of the United States. As Alex Inkeles points out, professional-occupational groups tend to develop patterns of communality, of affinities, regardless of the cultural and ideological differences of the settings within which they labor.[35]

4. Teachers' Internalization of the System's Values: The Socialization of the Socializers

Negotiated matrimony is seen, in terms of socialist morality, as a byproduct of a system of exploitation since, instead of love and free choice on the part of two compatible adults, it involves the elements of barter, of economic advantage rather than love. In traditional lore negotiated matrimony entails the trading off of a young maiden to an old but wealthy male or that of a young man to an old but wealthy matron. In either case the poor is seen as the object of the trade, of chattel, in this kind of transaction. Nevertheless, some Polish press organs still feature matrimonial advertisements and this, too, may be a residue of the traditional culture. Characteristically, among the dailies which feature matrimonial advertisements most prominently is Kurier Polski, a Warsaw daily and organ of the Democratic Alliance (Stronnictwo Demokratyczne, SD), an offspring of the pre-World War II Democratic Club which at that time represented the liberal segment of the intellectual and academic community. Today the Alliance is designed to functionally represent within the framework of the Front of National Unity, within the national councils and parliament, the official middle class consisting of private entrepreneurs (priwaciarze). Among the advertisements for negotiated marriage featured in Kurier Polski are many placed by teachers.

One such advertisement, not at all unique inasmuch as it represents the accepted style for such advertisements, reads as follows:

> A maiden, age 39, without a past, of great spiritual virtues, with pedagogic education, owns house -- would like to meet a cultured gentleman without bad habits, up to age 50 (divorces are excluded from consideration). Serious offers are to be addressed to Box No. 7650, "Kurier Polski," Warsaw, Szpitalna Street 8.[36]

Other advertisements are placed by middle-aged males seeking a spouse (without a "past," who does not drink or smoke, but who possesses cultural refinement and culinary talents, preferably a female teacher). Still others are by young males or females seeking some measure of economic security through marriage. Generally these advertisements mirror the still prevalent social values: piety, "traditional morals," stress on economic well-being, on "culture" and "refinement." Because of the traditional opposition of the Church to divorce, many of the advertisements clearly specify the undesirability of divorced males or females. The great proportion of teachers searching for spouses through the traditional means of negotiated matrimony or being sought as spouses by others who advertise would lead one to assume that the traditional moral code and traditional patterns are still rather strong among persons in that profession, or that perhaps their economic plight is such that negotiated matrimony, despite the socialist moral stigma attached to it, constitutes a means towards economic betterment not to be frowned upon. Another reason why teachers might seek marriage through the classified advertisement columns of the press is loneliness. In a study conducted by Józef Kozłowski of a sample of 435 Polish teachers many described themselves as lonely and saw in this condition a neutral factor (neither positive nor negative) in job performance. However, as Kozłowski points out:

"The lonely person loses contact with social reality and may encounter some difficulties in his educational work."[37] The "reality" and the "difficulties" Kozłowski refers to are those related to meeting the systemic expectations, including that of "proper" moral posture. In other words, in his loneliness the teacher may not be aware of or may not care about the negative attitude towards negotiated matrimony growing out of the socialist moral code. Kozłowski also comments:

> Society is not only interested in the professional qualifications of the teacher but also in his ideology, his views and convictions.
>
> The school teaches and educates but the function of education, of upbringing, is usually relegated to the second plane in comparison with the main objective of subject matter teaching. However, knowledge of reality is explicitly tied to the problem of formation of a set of attitudes towards that reality, the ability to develop and formulate among the pupils a specific posture. Teaching is closely linked with education and the one cannot be separated from the other.
>
> As far as world outlook is concerned, a significant portion of teachers do not as yet possess a clear view. This is evidenced by the fact that over one third of the respondents perceived the fideistic outlook as neutral, having no impact on education...
>
> Such wavering on the part of teachers in matters of ideology could be traced to their attitude towards religion. Of the four terms describing a negative attitude: atheist, freethinker, lay, secular... greatest approbation was given to the terms secular and lay while the other two met with much less favor.[38]

As in the case of the previously reported field study among students and teacher-students of teachers' colleges of the SN type, we were given access to a study undertaken jointly by the Research Department of the Polish Teachers' Union and the Polish Secular School Association. In the study, select communities of varying size were chosen in diverse geographic areas of the country and the names of secondary school teachers were picked at random from rosters in these communities. The final list of teachers to be interviewed consisted of 276 names. The teachers were assured of anonymity. Some of the questions were suggested by this investigator, others were derived from the doctoral dissertations of Mikołaj Kozakiewicz (under the direction of Professor Maria Ossowska), Jan Woskowski (under the direction of Professor Jan Szczepański), and the aforementioned study by Józef Kozłowski. The other studies were performed at an earlier period: Dr. Kozakiewicz's in April, 1959, Dr. Woskowski's (presently of Łódź University) in 1963, and Kozłowski's in 1964. Moreover, the Kozakiewicz study involved a national sample of 1,000 teachers, Woskowski's consisted of 166 elementary school teachers with secondary education only and 166 with higher education; Kozłowski's involved, as mentioned, 435 respondents. The findings of the current study were subsequently compared with responses to similar questions in the earlier works and, amazingly, very few differences emerged from the response patterns, indicating a level of consistency over time.

The largest group of teachers in the sample, 59 percent, are between the ages of 21 and 30, followed by 20.7 percent within the 31-40 age group. Only 7.9 percent of the Polish teachers in the sample were above the age of 50. The reason for the relatively small number of older teachers in Poland is probably due to the fact that during the Nazi occupation members of the Polish intelligentsia were chosen for deliberate persecution and many indeed perished. What this means, however, is that most teachers in Poland were educated or at least received the bulk of their professional training under the present socio-political system. Although the teaching profession has the reputation of being "feminized," the ratio between males and females in the current sample was almost equally distributed with only a 14.1 percent edge in favor of the females (i.e., 42.4 percent male as against 56.5 percent female, with the sex of three respondents unknown). The ratio of females over males would have been greater were elementary school teachers incorporated in the sample. Unfortunately, official Polish statistics do not provide us with figures on sex distribution among teachers although the numerical superiority of females among SN students became evident from the previous study as well as from field observation thus bearing out the notion relative to the "feminization" of the profession, at least as far as elementary schools are concerned since the SN type of teacher college trains personnel for that level primarily.

Although there is evidence of a high rate of attrition among teachers, especially during the first ten years in the profession, 71.9 percent of the respondents indicated service in the occupation of a period from 6 to 20 years. Again, if elementary school teachers were included in the sample the level of stability in the profession might have been less since, in addition to the "feminization" factor, elementary school teaching may also tend to be more frustrating and less rewarding to male teachers, especially those with higher education. Only 8.6 percent of the Polish teachers in the sample indicated service of a period exceeding 20 years which, of course, coincides with the relative "youth" of the profession and the general age level of the population -- a phonomenon again attributable to repercussions still felt from the waste laid by World War II. Only 18.4 percent were teaching for five years or less which may be a result of some of the hurdles encountered by those desirous of entering immediately upon secondary level teaching, that is, once having overcome other hurdles encountered on the road towards professional training. For the purposes of this investigation, since the radical sociopolitical and economic changes were launched in Poland at the end of World War II, that is, over 20 years ago, it is safe to assume that Polish teachers employed in the profession for a period exceeding 20 years received their training prior to the establishment of the new system. Conversely, *teachers who are in the profession for a period of ten years or less (64.7 percent or 178 persons) received their own schooling under the conditions of the new order, and they should be expected, therefore, to perform more effectively as agents of socialization into the new value system and to respond more favorably to the values officially espoused than would older teachers*, especially those with over 20 years of tenure. Our previous investigation among SH students indicates that acceptance of the system's values does not necessarily coincide with lower age although all of the SH respondents were relatively young and only a minority among them (those from Toruń) were working teachers but our other observations give some indication that conservatism (in the sense of adjustment to systemic expectations and acceptance of the system's values) increases with tenure in teaching. Would the sample of secondary school teachers bear this out?

Only 22.3 percent of Polish teachers in the sample spent most of their childhood and youth in a community with a population of over 50,000 and 46.6 percent indicated village or smalltown background. The greater part (46.6 percent) were born and raised in provincial towns of population sizes between 10,000 and 50,000.

As was indicated earlier, despite official stress on working class or peasant background as desirable attributes (in terms of the official ideology), educational opportunities are less available to the youth of these classes (especially peasants) than it is to children of the intelligentsia. Of the professional and semi-professional institutions of post-secondary education training, only theological academies showed predominance of a student clientele of peasant origin. Generally, the ratio of intelligentsia youth rises with the increase in traditional prestige of the profession for which a particular institution offers training (e.g., medicine, art, humanities, social science), and, within the field of teachers' education, intelligentsia representation is higher at the universities and Higher Schools of Pedagogy than it is at the teachers' colleges of the SN type. The generally lower esteem level of institutions of teachers' education consequently finds its reflection in the social class backgrounds of the teachers although theoretically the profession as such enjoys rather high prestige. But as has been shown repeatedly, this theoretical prestige does not necessarily transmit itself to the individual teacher in the field,many of whom perceive their social status as low and their economic status as even lower. Yet because of the lower prestige of the institutions of teachers' education (especially the SNs) and, consequently, the lower level of competition attendant admission to these, youth of workingclass and peasant background have a better chance of entering them and of graduating into a profession which enjoys traditional esteem as such. That is, as elsewhere, so in Poland teaching (in addition to the priesthood) seems to be a realistic vehicle of upward mobility for ambitious and hardworking youth of traditionally lower class background. It is also possible that intelligentsia youth who enter and graduate from teachers' training institutions (these seem to attract the academically weakest of that group who were unable to gain entrance to the more prestigious institutions), tend to remain in the profession only for the period of time necessary to meet the post-graduation requirements, moving on to more lucrative or easier occupations in the big city. Unfortunately, we have no statistical data on the relationship between class background and resignations from the teaching profession although in the course of in-depth interviews various allusions were made to the tendency among young teachers of intelligentsia background not to "stick it out" beyond the officially prescribed time necessary to meet post-graduation obligations, especially if the first job assignment brings the young teacher of intelligentsia background into the "dead provinces." As a result of these circumstances, it seems, persons of workingclass background constitute the single largest group in the sample (40.5 percent), followed by teachers of peasant background (32.8 percent) and only then by intelligentsia (18.4 percent); only 2.9 percent teachers in the sample (8 persons) indicated formal socio-economic middleclass background (i.e., children of self-employed small business enterpreneurs or shopkeepers) and the background of 5.4 percent is unknown. In other words, children of provincial town workers constitute the most numerous group in Polish secondary education, and they may indeed represent the New Intelligentsia which in Kwiatkowski's words is singleminded, serious, ambitious, hard-working, career oriented, loyal, but lacking in the social graces of the traditional intelligentsia derived from the impoverished gentry.

When Józef Kozłowski asked his 435 teachers why they chose the profession, the most frequent answer given was that the choice was really a matter of accident. That is, the choice of teaching was made, for example, because no other type of professional training institution was available either to the particular candidate or within a given geographic location, or because the prospective teacher experienced setbacks of various kinds while attending a lyceum of general education thus precluding entry into a university, etc. Yet, the professional normative literature stresses teaching as a "high calling" commanding individual commitment. Warsaw-based teachers, unlike their provincial colleagues, tended to make their professional choice less on the basis of economic or ideational considerations and more on the grounds of affinity for pedagogic work.[39]

Yet, once in the profession Polish teachers manifest a high level of satisfaction with their occupational choice. Thus, the current study indicates that of the secondary school teachers in the sample, 51.9 percent declared themselves as being "very satisfied" with their professional choice and 32.5 percent described themselves as merely "satisfied" but giving, in toto, 84.4 percent indicating general satisfaction of varying degree. Only 8.4 percent of the teachers answered that they are "dissatisfied" with their professional choice and 7.2 percent indicated mixed feelings on this score. However, when asked "if presently given an opportunity to start anew, would you choose any other occupational-professional career?" the commitment to the profession decreases as one moves down the prestige level of education attained by the respondents (see Table 3).

Table 3

Polish Secondary School Teachers' Response to Question: "If you presently had an opportunity to start anew, would you choose any other (than teaching) occupational-professional career?"

By Education of Respondents (in percentages)

Education		Yes	No	Don't Know
University Completed	(N. 40)	35.3	58.6	6.1
University Not Completed	(N. 62)	32.6	62.6	4.8
Higher Inst. of Pedagog. Completed	(N. 85)	32.5	62.7	4.8
Higher Inst. of Pedagog. Not Completed	(N. 89)	22.8	71.3	5.9
Other	(N. 37)	15.0	83.4	1.6

Thus, although satisfied with their professional choice a significant number would at least give some thought to another occupational choice and would consider one if they could only start anew. When investigating the social position of teachers, Jan Woskowski has come to very much similar conclusions. In this study, the higher the level of the teacher's own education the more he tended to be dissatisfied with the accomplishments of his pedagogic-educational labors. According to Woskowski the level of satisfaction was highest among teachers who completed only secondary pedagogic education (69 percent were unqualifiedly satisfied and 23 percent were rather satisfied), followed by SN graduates (of whom 62 percent were satisfied and 27 percent were rather satisfied), and, lastly, teachers with higher education whose unqualified satisfaction was at 49 percent while 36 percent among them were "rather satisfied."[40]

When asked what factors they would enumerate as advantageous and which they thought might influence a person to enter the teaching profession they tended to stress considerations of idealistic-altruistic nature first (e.g., service to the people, the work offers intellectual satisfaction, etc.) but these arguments for entry were often backed up by considerations material in nature (e.g., relatively easy entry into the profession and achievement of professional status, availability of long and free vacation time, relatively quick way of earning a living, etc.). On the other hand, when asked what arguments they would use to persuade someone not to enter the teaching profession they pointed first to lack of proper work facilities (e.g., inferior physical plant, inadequate programs, texts, educational aids, methodological guidelines, etc.) and these were followed by (a) complaints about lack of local cooperation and (b) lack of understanding among parents of pupils and students. In other words, despite entry into the profession through accident or lack of other opportunities, teachers, once in it, see their occupation in rather lofty terms but experience considerable frustrations due to lack of community and parental cooperation and understanding, as well as due to inadequate material work conditions. That teachers with higher levels of education would feel more frustrated than those with lower educational backgrounds should be understandable for several reasons: teachers who have attained a higher level of education see themselves and their work in more exacting professional terms, and, at the same time, have available to themselves more opportunities for nonteaching-related employment, producing in them feelings of personal frustration. They view their own education in the light of what is and what might have been and many feel a sense of loss, waste or sorrow. Moreover, teachers of higher educational accomplishment may expect more, demand more, both from themselves as from their occupational environment and at the same time they may react rather negatively to community non-cooperation with the educational enterprise, the lack of what they perceive as community understanding and appreciation. Teachers of higher educational backgrounds would also be more sensitive to matters of status and prestige than their colleagues of inferior education.

Judging by the sample, teachers in Poland tend to perceive themselves as both educators and subject matter specialists. They refer to their colleagues, especially on the secondary level, by their subject matter specializations -- e.g., "geographer," "botanist," "mathematician," "polonist," "historian," etc. When asked the question, 31.6 percent viewed themselves as "primarily educators," 19.7 percent saw themselves as "primarily specialists," while 49.7 percent declared themselves as being both. This emphasis on both education and specialization (rather than specialization alone) might be an outgrowth of the current stress on what Polish educators refer to as "polytechnic education" which combines both subject matter specialization, vocation, and character building. The obvious question which arises is whether a Polish teacher's self-perception primarily as a subject matter specialist or as an educator would affect his internalization of the general educational goals and values of the system. Since the "specialist" presumably, is more oriented towards his occupational specialty he might be expected to pay less attention to the general socio-political goals of the educational system than the teacher who considers himself to be primarily an educator. Within the secondary school teachers' sample, almost all who identified themselves as "primarily specialists" were teachers of mathematics, physics, chemistry, and the small number of shop teachers (12) in the sample. Those who identified themselves as "both specialists and educators" were almost all teachers of humanistically oriented subjects (e.g., history, literature, languages) with only 30 employed in the exact sciences. Those who identified themselves as "primarily educators" were all in the humanities. Table 4 shows their response patterns on questions dealing with the sensitive and crucial problem of Church-State relations and the secular-religious dichotomy.

Table 4

Response of Polish Secondary School Teachers to Statements Dealing with State-Church Relations and Secular-Religious Dichotomy: By Self-Identified Level of Subject Matter Specialization and Educational Generalism of Respondents
(In percentages)

Statement	Primarily Educators (N. 85)		Primarily Specialists (N. 54)		Both Ed. & Specialists (N. 137)	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
1. Most advanced societies have separated at least formally institutions of religion from institutions of learning. This is a wise policy, benefiting learning, and should be affected regardless of social consequences.	77.5	22.5	69.3	30.7	78.9	21.1
2. The Church's concern should be exclusively with matters of faith, leaving politics in the hands of secular forces.	65.4	34.6	68.4	31.6	73.5	26.5
3. Religion is a legitimate subject of education in publically supported schools if taught from a historical-philosophical perspective (rather than indoctrination.)	34.6	65.4	48.1	51.9	45.2	54.8
4. If the community demands religious education such education should be included in the curriculum of the public schools.	17.5	82.5	26.9	73.1	19.0	81.0

Generally, as Table 4 indicates, secondary school teachers in Poland do accept the general value premises of the political system, especially as these concern the role of religion in education and in politics. However, there are some significant differences in the response levels of specialists on the one hand, and, on the other, educational generalists or those who consider themselves as being "primarily educators," as well as those who see themselves as representing both a specialty plus an educational commitment. Moreover, the response patterns vary, especially among the specialists, with the "severity" of the "anti-religious" tone of the statements. Since nearly all those identified as "specialists" were physical scientists, mathematicians, and a few vocational teachers while those in the "both specialist-educationist" group were (with the exception of 30 persons) members of the humanities' faculties, one may perhaps speak of a difference between the two sectors of learning relative to the problem of secularization of Polish socio-political life. In their responses the specialists trail behind the "specialists-educationists" in endorsing greater secularization while exceeding the latter in rejection of statements reflective of an anti-religious sentiment. Generally, educational generalists follow the attitude of the "specialists-educators" since, as a group, the "generalists" ("primarily educators") are all humanists, as are most of those in the "specialist-educators" group. Yet, the "primarily educators," surprisingly, fall behind the other categories in endorsing the notion that institutions of religion should be totally divorced from politics. Perhaps humanists who consider themselves primarily educators fear rapid and radical changes in State-Church relations, they fear the consequences of rapid secularization of Polish social and political life. Our initial assumption was, however, that those who consider themselves primarily as educators or those who combine the polytechnic premises of education (by considering themselves "both specialists and educators") are most apt to accept the values and goals of the system than those who are primarily subject matter oriented and narrowly specialized within a subject matter field, especially if such field is outside of the humanities. One of the reasons for this kind of development may be due to changes both in substance, method, and outlook which teaching of humanities must have undergone as a result of the socio-political and economic revolution while, on the other hand, the physical sciences, mathematics, or even vocational education as such are less subject to the impact of the changing values within the system. Dealing in ideas and social values, the humanities and social sciences are simply more sensitive to social pressures and to political change while the practicioners of the physical sciences can remain immune and aloof from these to a much larger extent. The physical scientist (even of secondary educational level), much more than his colleague in the humanities, can afford to remain for a longer time oriented to the universality of his discipline and is thereby less bothered by or concerned with domestic, systemic demands. Moreover, he would feel a greater sense of economic and professional security than the humanities' teacher much because he has options (other than teaching) available to him -- e.g., employment in industry, research, etc. -- whereas the humanities teacher is largely dependent upon teaching employment, especially if he feels committed to his subject matter.

After 1956 and the shortlived silent alliance or at least toleration between Party and Church following Gomułka's return to power, religious instruction, as mentioned previously, was allowed on the premises of the public schools in Poland. Significantly, when in 1959 Mikołaj Kozakiewicz asked whether instruction in the cathechism should be removed from the terrain of public and state-supported education, 73.5 percent of the humanists he questioned (of a sample of 1,000) answered in the affirmative while only 68.4 percent of the teachers in the physical sciences and mathematics agreed with that proposition -- levels of agreement compatible with those obtained for the similar groups in the current study. In commenting on his findings, Kozakiewicz wrote:

> The religiously oriented teacher of physics is a materialist only as long as he concerns himself with the physical world. He is quite capable in the realm of his subject matter interests to defend a scientific world outlook. However, as concerns problems of cosmosophy or of metaphysical being, his materialism breaks down. Then such teacher reacts in terms of subjective feelings, and perceiving this as inadequate he resorts to a religious, idealistic, and cosmotheistic superstructure.[41]

As mentioned previously, in addition to teachers self-identified as "primarily educators" (or, alternately, as "both specialists and educators") rather than as "specialists" being more identified with the system's values and goals, one might further expect that younger teachers would be more likely to assimilate the system's norms than their colleagues more advanced in age. Since those who are 30 years of age or younger received their own primary education under the new regime, it could be assumed that teachers within this age category will reflect the norms of the new political system in their own attitudes towards religion and the Church. The survey among SN students and student-teachers previously reported has cast some initial doubts on this proposition. However, one who in 1966 was 30 years of age was only 9 years old when "socialism arrived," and one who is 25 or younger, born during

World War II, was at most 4 years old at the time of the establishment of the new regime and, thus, had ahead of him a long period of training in the new system. Even those between 31 and 40 years of age -- what with interrupted normal schooling during the war -- only at an "advanced" youth age of at most 19 could launch upon a career and receive training for that career. This means that even those who are 40 years of age and younger received their own professional training under the new regime and should therefore be prepared to meet the system's expectations by at least having absorbed the system's values themselves. The present survey contained a number of items testing teachers' attitudes towards religion and the organization of the Church, on the one hand, and their attitudes towards "socialist secularism" and Church-State relations, on the other. Since it was already shown that those who perceive themselves as "primarily educators" or "both educators and specialists" manifest a greater propensity towards assimilation of systemic values and goals than those who view themselves as "primarily specialists," Table 5 tests the varying responses of these groups but this time with respect to their self-rated ties with the Church. At the same time, Table 5 also reports on how they describe their ties with the Church by age of the respondents. In responding to the question as to their bonds with the Church, the teachers were given the usual alternatives of "very strong," "strong," "moderate," "weak," "no ties at all." For purposes of economy the categories in Table 5 were collapsed into three major response patterns.

Ideally, from the point of view of the system one would assume, as indicated, that younger teachers and those who consider themselves as "primarily educators" (in the light of our previous findings) would rate their ties with the Church less strongly than older teachers and subject matter "specialists." And, indeed, as Table 5 demonstrates, teachers who perceive themselves as "primarily specialists" do rate their own ties with the Church stronger than do those who consider themselves "primarily educators" or as "both educators and specialists" in subject matter although, when

Table 5

Self-Rated Ties with Church: By Self-Perceived Primacy of Professional Role and by Age of Respondents (in percentages)

	Very Strong /Strong	Moderate /Weak	Total Church Ties	Not At All	No Answer
I. Self-Perceived Primacy of Professional Role					
Primarily Educators (N. 85)	35.1	37.1	72.2	27.8	--
Primarily Specialists (N. 54)	42.3	33.2	75.5	24.5	--
Both Educators and Specialists (N. 137)	38.5	32.3	70.8	29.2	--
II. Age					
25 or Less (N. 82)	58.4	21.8	80.2	19.8	--
26-30 (N. 83)	43.4	22.7	66.1	33.9	--
31-40 (N. 57)	36.2	36.9	73.1	26.9	--
41-50 (N. 29)	30.5	38.0	68.5	31.5	--
Over Age 50 (N. 22)	27.5	46.3	73.8	26.2	--
Unknown (N. 3)	--	--	--	--	100.0

asked, neither group produced a majority which would rate its ties with the Church as "very strong" or even "strong." Nevertheless, even among those who consider themselves as "primarily educators" -- that is, the group of teachers mainly in the socio-politically sensitive humanities -- a total of 72.2 percent admitted to some ties of varying strength to the Church, and among those who consider themselves as "primarily specialists" -- mainly mathematics and physical science teachers -- a total of 75.5 percent acknowledge ties of varying intensity with the Church. Teachers who see themselves as both educators and specialists have similarly some ties with the Church of one kind or another (70.8 percent). These results coincide with our previous findings which indicated that teachers in Poland, regardless of how they perceive the primacy of their professional role, by-and-large endorse the principle of secularization of the school system but are, at the same time, somewhat apprehensive about the effects of rapid or radical secularization of the larger socio-political system. It should be recalled that even among the "primarily educators" only 65.4 percent endorsed the idea that the Church should be limited only to matters of spiritual faith, to the exclusion of political concerns (see Table 4).

What is more surprising and, from the point of view of the system, more disturbing as well, is that tendencies towards secularization seem to increase moderately with age rather than the reverse. The survey on sex-related morality among SN students produced some hints to this effect but Table 5 produces clear evidence that the younger the teachers the stronger their religious or pro-Church sentiments and only a minority within each age group does not indicate any ties whatever with the Church. That is, 80.2 percent of those 25 years of age or less admit to some ties with the church (and 58.4 percent maintain that their ties are, indeed, very strong or strong), 66.1 percent in the 26-30 age group admit to Church ties, 73.1 percent in the 31-40 group, 68.5 percent in the 41-50 age group, and of the teachers over fifty years of age, whose ties to the Church are less intense than their younger colleagues, 73.9 percent nevertheless have some Church ties. While of lower key, ties with the Church seem to be re-established for some in one form or another between the ages of 31 and 40, and again, after fifty (having slackened off between the ages of 41-50). In no ways do these re-established ties, however, approximate the intensity manifested among the youngest teachers, age 25 or less. Perhaps teachers between the ages of 31 and 40 find it advantageous to maintain some ties with the Church due to family pressures (their own as well as their spouse's perhaps) whereas teachers between the ages of 41 and 50 may have a need to conform to official authority expectations finding themselves, as they well may be at this age, at some crossroad in their professional career and within the school organization. When over fifty, established and close to retirement, but in any case with the career drive lessened somewhat, they may seek anew some ties with the Church, however moderate or weak in nature, because of sentiment or a need for cultural (and national) continuity. When asked as to why they maintain ties with the Church the most frequent response given was tradition, habit (mentioned by 30.0 percent). This was followed by such motives as: "adjustment to environmental pressures" (22.6 percent), "spiritual need" and the "need for meaning in life" (20.1 percent), "worry for one's soul" and "salvation" (17.0 percent), "family pressure" (16.1 percent), "enjoyment of the liturgy," "cultural" or "artistic" experience attendant religious service (12.9 percent), "religious commitment" and "obedience" (6.2 percent), "political manifestation" or "defiance" (3.0 percent), other intellectual reasons (.5 percent). Significantly, however, reasons related to needs for conformity to either family pressure or the pressure of tradition was most frequently enumerated by older teachers (i.e., only 14.4 percent of those 25 years or younger gave pressure or conformity as reasons, compared to 17.1 percent for those within the 26-30 age group, 20.0 percent for ages 31-40, 22.5 percent for those between 41 and 50, and 23.5 percent for those over fifty years of age). Many respondents did not answer the question on motivations for Church attendance or gave widely scattered responses.

However, it is the ties of the youngest teachers which are by far the strongest and the most void of reasons borne from a desire to conform or to give in to environmental pressures. They are no longer at the age of obedience to parent either. Consequently, the response of the younger teachers to the Church seems to be the product of deeply felt needs or resentment against some aspects of the reality around them, and, in view of the fact that their own education was totally obtained under the new political system, indicative of some deep-rooted socio-political unrest or failure.

There may be several formally unstated reasons why strong ties with the Church, especially among Polish teachers, is strongest among the young and shows regression as one moves up the age scale: one may be related to tenure in the profession which, as indicated previously, produces conformity to official expectations (while age alone produces token conformity to community and family pressures resultant in some Church ties, however weak); another may be due to a lessening of feelings of self-assurance, self-reliance, rebellion and spite but, instead, a greater need for socio-economic security which comes with age and results in a greater need to accept the "realities" of the system and to make peace with existing conditions while, at the same time, paying slight tribute to informal, non-official pressures by the maintenance of some Church bonds. Older persons are more likely than young ones to give up hopes for immediate systemic changes and, instead, seek adjustment to official demands, partially in order to survive economically, especially since their own economic needs and responsibilities (for wife, children, older parents, etc.) increase as they near the summit of their productive years (between the ages of 30 and 50). But still another reason why older teachers in Poland, especially those over 50 years of age, might describe themselves as having only token (i.e., "weak" or "moderate") ties with the Church (46.3 percent of the teachers over the age of 50 indicated only "moderate/weak" ties with the Church and 26.2 percent maintained that they have no ties with the Church at all) could be related to the fact that prior to World War II the teaching profession in general (and especially that segment of it employed at the secondary school level), and the Teachers' Union in particular, experienced some severe difficulties with the Catholic Church. Teachers and their union were frequently the subject of criticism from the pulpit. Priests attached to both private and publicly supported secondary schools (gimnazia and licea) as instructors in cathechism often came into sharp conflict with lay teachers working in the same schools, especially if the priests suspected that these teachers taught in a manner or in a subject which might impinge upon the position of the Church and its preachings. In fact, several cases in which lay teachers felt unjustly persecuted or defamed came to court, pitting teachers against priests and vice versa, with conservative elements, on the one hand, and Left-wing or liberal elements on the other lining up in support of one or the other. Many teachers consequently found themselves allied, however vaguely, with the Left-wing and liberal forces thus accelerating an at least partial alienation of a segment of the teaching profession from the Church hierarchy. Moreover, the now older teacher who grew up under the conditions of pre-World War II Poland in which the Church although in frequent dispute with the secular political authorities nevertheless exercised a strong formalized influence, may have tended to sever his ties with the Church as part of a socio-political stance, a protest against the conditions of the days of his youth -- conditions for which he could very well have held the Church responsible in part at least. These were conditions of peasant landlessness and hunger, of riots and rural pacifications, of discrimination against ethnic and religious minorities, widespread illiteracy, high unemployment, lack of political and religious tolerance, provincialism and parochialism. The young teacher then could very well attribute many of these ills to the influence of the Church, identifying it with the general system and, in silent rebellion, turn his back on that institution. On the other hand, the situation has changed presently. Instead of being on the offensive the institution of religion is now on the defensive, identified with the general opposition. It is seen as the spokesman of traditional cultural and community values, and, consequently, the young person of today -- less concerned with the conditions of pre-World War II Poland and more with those of the present -- may very well begin to look with sympathy towards the Church. The Left is now formally in power and the Party and the government could be blamed, in turn, for poverty and low standards of living as well as for any other economic, social or political misfortune while the Church, not sharing in the formal responsibilities for governing the country, is absolved from any blame. In fact, the institution of religion and the Church hierarchy presently have become the focus of opposition attracting the sympathies of all those who may feel disenchanted or discontented for whatever reason.

The young may be prone to both disenchantment and discontent partly because their own values of "modernity" are not fulfilled or met, partly because being fresh on the economic market place their pay is proportionately lower and they feel most acutely the economic hardships and are most frustrated by generally low standards of living. They, more than their elders, would be curious about conditions outside of Poland, would be attracted by things foreign, and would compare these unfavorably with conditions at home, especially in the realm of economic opportunities. Finally, being brought up on the normative-idealistic visions of socialism they may react to the discrepancy between these visions and the socio-political and economic reality surrounding them. This would be the negative effect of their own state of socialization into the values and premises of the new political system and, indeed, may be the cause for youth and student rebellions in other societies as well. As far as the socialist countries are concerned, it was first the students of Czechoslovakia and Poland who in 1968 spilled their disappointments and protest into the streets, as they did (in Poland) in 1956.

In addition to the young teachers and the teachers who perceive themselves as "primarily educators," the authorities might expect that teachers brought up in urban areas, of workingclass background (the very notion of the "New Intelligentsia" is related to professional cadres of workingclass, first, and peasant background second), with a high level of education (especially if received in a "socialist" school system) would be more receptive to the values of the new system and its goals. These hopes not being realized with respect to age, how do they fare with respect to the other background factors? Table 6 considers the teacher's ties with the Church by sex, the type of community in which he has spent most of his childhood and youth, his socio-economic background (i.e., occupation of his father), and the highest level of education attained.

Although only 5.0 percent more female teachers than males have ties with the Church, the self-admitted intensity of these ties is much stronger, as one would expect, among females than it is among males -- 18.7 percent more female teachers than male teachers claimed "very strong" or "strong" ties with the Church.

Since the sample consists of secondary school teachers, the field of their occupational activities is the medium-size town or big city. As indicated, for reasons of economy and manpower, Polish secondary schools are centered in larger population centers with dormitories attached to them to accommodate those students who would have to travel long distances to school. In his own study on 1,000 teachers, Mikołaj Kozakiewicz was able to test the respondents' religious attitudes by *current* residence (and thus presumably by currently experienced community pressures in the direction of religion or secularism) since his study encompassed teachers of all levels of education (i.e., kindergarten, elementary, as well as secondary). The present study being limited to secondary school teachers could only ask instead about the teachers' religious attitudes by class background or by size of community in which they spent *most* of their childhood and youth. Unfortunately here, because the communities were broken down by sizes originally for comparative research purposes, some of the descriptions may not correspond to Polish reality. That is, Polish villages are rather small and a community approaching 10,000 population may not be, in terms relative to Polish conditions, necessarily considered a "small town," much less a village. Yet, neither could anything less than a settlement of 10,000 residents be considered a town. Consequently, these descriptions of the communities in Table 6 are more or less correct but it should be remembered that if an extra category had been added -- e.g., a community of less than 3,000 -- the proportion of pro-religious sentiments probably would have shown an even greater increase among teachers brought up in such environment though here they are lumped together with teachers brought up in relatively larger communities of between 3,000 and 10,000 residents.

The Polish countryside is still dotted with little roadside shrines and passersby faithfully take off their hats or kneel for short prayer. The traditional greeting on the road is "Jesus Christ be blessed" to which the proper response is "For centuries and centuries." Although electricity and radio (at least in the form of a centrally located loudspeaker placed on a pole along the village street) has reached most villages, the water supply still is carried from a well and the toilet remains an outdoor affair and life goes on in traditional terms, especially as far as the village residents' relationships with the Church are concerned. Young villagers may strum the guitar instead of the traditional mouth harmonica or mandolin, and the music heard may be of the "big beat" type, but the Church is still the center of the rural environment. Religion, often wrapped in superstitious beliefs, is still strong in the Polish village, and, consequently, only 15.4 percent of the teachers brought up in communities of less than 10,000 claim no ties with the Church. As indicated, if "real villages" -- that is, settlements of less than 3,000 -- were to be considered separately, the proportion of teachers with no ties to the Church probably would have been even smaller but, as Table 6 shows, pro-religious sentiments do not decrease in terms of total relationships to the Church with the increase of the size of the community and the level of urbanization. While the village and small town leads in religion (both in terms of intensity and the totality

Table 6

Self-Rated Ties with Church: By Sex of Respondents, By Type of Community Where They Spent Most of Childhood and Youth, By Socio-Economic Background and By Highest Level of Education Attained (in percentages)

		Very Strong /Strong	Moderate /Weak	Total Church Ties	Not At All
. Sex					
Male	(N. 117)	30.0	40.1	70.1	29.9
Female	(N. 156)	48.7	26.4	75.1	24.9
Unknown	(N. 3)	--	--	--	--
. Type of Community *					
Village/Small Town	(N. 78)	58.9	25.7	84.6	15.4
Town	(N. 129)	36.6	31.7	68.3	31.7
City	(N. 61)	28.4	47.5	75.9	24.1
Unknown	(N. 8)	--	--	--	--
I.S-E Background					
Peasants/Farmers	(N. 91)	49.6	34.5	84.1	15.9
Workers	(N. 112)	26.6	30.6	57.2	42.8
Intelligentsia	(N. 50)	34.0	40.0	74.0	26.0
Other**	(N. 23)	39.4	50.9	90.3	9.7
/.Highest Education Attained					
University-Higher Inst. of Pedagogy, Completed	(N. 113)	26.4	44.4	70.8	29.2
University-Higher Inst. of Pedagogy, Not Completed	(N. 139)	21.5	51.9	73.4	26.6
Other***	(N. 24)	45.1	25.7	70.8	29.2

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* Type of Community sizes: Village or small town -- settlement of less than 10,000; town -- community between 10,000-50,000 residents; city -- any locale with a population of more than 50.000.

** Others: Private entrepreneural (8 respondents) including self-employed artisans, shopkeepers, other assorted and varied backgrounds but excluding private farmers.

***Some Studium Nauczycielskie (teachers' colleges) but primarily higher technical and art institutions as well as higher institution for physical education training.

of relationships), towns of populations between 10,000 and 50,000 manifest lesser attachments among teachers to the Church than big cities and metropolitan areas although, to be sure, the intensity of these attachments (as expressed in the "strength" of Church ties) are lesser among Church-oriented teachers in these larger localities than it is in the medium-sized towns. However, the big city and metropolitan areas show less teachers of no Church ties than the medium-sized (10,000-50,000) town. The reason for this may be the difference in visibility between a city and a medium-sized provincial community. In the medium-sized provincial community the pressures for conformity, both by the secular political authorities as well as by the Church and the traditional elements within the community, would be greater than in the city. Faces and names are familiar to the residents, observing one's neighbor is a favorite pas-time in view of the lack of other means of entertainment. A person growing up in such a community -- bound on a career or eager to enter, for example, a higher institution of learning -- would want to behave in a manner that would not be displeasing to the secular authorities, including the principal, the leader of the youth organization, the militia, the Party activists, but at the same time the family and traditional community bonds which are still strong produce a situation of fragmented, as it were, behavior. It is significant to note that teachers brought up in towns of from 10,000 to 50,000 residents divide almost evenly among those who rate their ties with the Church as "very strong" or "strong," those whose ties with the Church are more of a pro-forma nature, and those who have no ties with the Church whatsoever.

While the hopes of the regime for the big city's total secularization seem not to be realized, the village remains, as it always was, the fortress of Church strength and the great pool of human faith. On the basis of his own study on 1,000 teachers (of all levels), Kozakiewicz states:

> While every second male teacher in the city within our sample is a non-believer, only every fourth male teacher in the villages is neither believing nor practicing. The lack of substantial differences in religious attitudes among male and female teachers in the villages may be explained primarily as a result of the fact that both male and female teachers working in the villages are constantly exposed to environmental pressures as well as to local tradition, and that both suffer from the lack of sufficiently strong cultural and intellectual incentives to affect a break from the pressures and from the tradition. Moreover, for both males and females open denial of faith or renunciation of religious practice would be an act of great civil courage which could alienate them from the environment.[42]

What is therefore surprising is that among the older teachers (over 50 years of age) a greater number of those with no ties with the Church spent their youth in the village than in the city. This is the only category where secularization exceeds pro-religious orientation. To be sure, the total number of non-Church related teachers over the age of 50 is small, only six persons, but all of them indicated a childhood or youth spent within a rural setting whereas of the 16 teachers in the same age group who declared themselves as having ties with the Church (of varying strength), eight spent their own youth in the big city (and that, obviously, at a time when Church attendance was the officially expected thing to do, that is, prior to the establishment of the new system), two were from a village and the rest (six) from medium-sized towns. As said, within this small age group the patterns of Church-related ties did not follow the general trend with respect to size of the community of the respondent's youth and childhood.

The percentage of respondents of peasant-farmer background with ties to the Church is almost the same as for respondents of village-small town background. The larger number of teachers indicating peasant-farmer background (91) than a childhood and youth spent in the village or small town (78) -- a difference of 13 -- may be due to migration from village to city and town, some of it resultant from the changes brought about by World War II and the subsequent border adjustments during which Poland lost to the Soviet Union the rural areas of Polesie, Volynia, Podole, and the major part of what was known before the war as Małopolska. Many Polish residents (including farmers) from these territories found themselves at the end of the war resettled into the Western territories, annexed from defeated Germany. At the present some of the resettled farmers combine both agricultural and industrial pursuits (since the tendency among Polish economic planners is towards industrialization of the rural areas and the establishment of factories in the proximity of villages) while others were totally absorbed into urban life. Regardless of the current occupation and place of residence of their parents, however, many may continue to refer to their father's erstwhile occupation in referring to their own class background. It is both politically advantageous and fashionable, for example, to be of workingclass and especially of peasant background and yet to have made "good" on the professional and social ladder. Thus, more secondary school teachers in the sample claim a peasant-farmer background than childhood or youth residence in a small town or village. As expected, these groups (of peasant background and of village-small town childhood and youth) manifest the greatest ties with the Church, exceeded only by the total bonds to the Church (regardless of intensity) felt by teachers of "undefined" background, i.e., the small group of persons (23 in number) whose parents are engaged in the private sector (*priwaciarze*) as small independent artisans, storekeepers, and the like. While only 9.7 percent of the teachers of such background show no ties with the Church, the ties to the Church for that group are of lesser intensity than for teachers of peasant-farmer background but, on the other hand, stronger than for persons of intelligentsia background and much stronger than for those of workingclass background. Teachers of traditional intelligentsia background tend to maintain moderate bonds with the Church (34.0 percent "very strong/strong," 40 percent "moderate to weak."). If anything, *it is the teacher of workingclass background who comes closest in meeting the system's expectations with regard to Church attitude, as would be expected from that class in terms of systemic ideology and hope for the future*. The working class is theoretically the most favored, and the government and the ruling Party purports to speak on behalf of this class. Workingclass background is favored in consideration for career advancement, and, formally, for admission to higher education. Within secondary schools, various allowances are made both academically and in terms of economic accommodation to students of workingclass background. This is the class which is to eventually produce the cadres for the "new intelligentsia" since members of the older intelligentsia persist in perpetuating a cultural tradition which includes homage to the traditional cultural institutions, including the Church, however mild in intensity such homage may be. Nevertheless, *even among the workingclass teachers a majority (57.2 percent) indicated some kind of tie with the Church -- but still, their ties to the Church are the lowest among all categories considered*.

As shown by Table 6, level of education attained does not seem to have a bearing on the acceptance or rejection of the system's values as far as attitudes towards the Church are concerned. But then, secondary school teachers in Poland would all have a more or less similar educational background, given the requirements for teaching on this level. As stated previously, SN graduates are usually destined for elementary school teaching while secondary school employment requires that the teacher have some higher education. That the intensity of Church-related ties of teachers whose university or higher pedagogic institution education has not yet reached completion is lower than that of teachers with higher education completed may be due to a greater lack of time on the part of the former, what with their need for self-education, producing a dissertation, taking correspondence courses, and engagement in other activities needed in order to meet the requirements for a degree. The need for a degree means not only social prestige but also increased professional status, pay, and advancement opportunities. Teachers whose higher education is not yet complete have thus many incentives for completion and they must find the time to achieve this goal within a busy schedule of school and organizational-civic activity. Yet, to bear out the contention that higher levels of education lead to ties of lesser intensity with the Church, one could point to the relatively small group of teachers in the sample (24 persons) whose education is, both in terms of institutional as well as intellectual level, inferior to that of a university or a Higher School of Pedagogy. This is the group which includes teachers of physical education, shop-related skills, arts and crafts, and few of them indicated an educational background of the SN type only as the highest attained -- and which includes over twice as many teachers whose bonds with the Church are "strong" than teachers of uncompleted education at a university or higher pedagogic institution and nearly double that found among teachers with completed university and higher pedagogic training. However, on the whole the data in Table 6 are *not* sufficiently strong nor of the character to indicate any relationship between a teacher's level of education and his ties with the Church.

On the basis of Tables 5 and 6 one could draw the conclusion that the *teacher most amenable to assimilating the system's official attitude towards the Church would be one of middle age or above, male, who considers his role of "educator" (usually trained to teach in the humanities or social sciences) as exceeding or more important than that of subject matter "specialist," and who, in addition, is of workingclass background and has spent most of his childhood and youth in a medium-sized community* (of 10,000-50,000 population). On the other hand, *most resistant to the system's expectations regarding teachers' behavior towards the Church most likely would be a young female who considers herself primarily a subject matter "specialist" (and usually is trained to teach in mathematics or the physical sciences), of peasant or traditional middleclass (e.g., private entrepreneural) background who has spend her own childhood and youth in a village or small community*. With respect to ties with the Church teachers of traditional intelligentsia background occupy a position between those most resistant and those most accommodative to the system's expectations. However, as far as the general picture is concerned the situation from the regime's point of view does not seem most encouraging but might improve as more workingclass youth of medium-size provincial communities enter the ranks of the teaching profession, as representatives of the "New Intelligentsia."

As indicated previously, among the various reasons given for the maintenance of Church-related ties those of tradition emerged into the fore, followed by considerations spiritual in nature (e.g., "search for meaning in life," "salvation of the soul," etc.). Conformity to pressures (from family, relatives, in-laws, etc.) while mentioned to some extent was generally of lesser frequency. Significantly, however, the latter motivations for ties with the Church -- motivations borne out of a need to conform -- were mentioned more often by teachers of peasant-farmer background who spent most of their childhood and youth in villages and small towns than they were by teachers of workingclass, intelligentsia, or urban background. Teachers of intelligentsia background especially tended to stress motives philosophical in nature, the need for psychological fulfillment, or simply the esthetic enjoyment of the liturgy and ceremonial as reasons for Church ties. Similarly, among the sexes, female teachers justified their Church ties in terms of some spiritual and philosophical needs as well as in terms of habit and tradition while male teachers more often advanced reasons of conformity to environmental pressures.

However, not satisfied with mere acceptance of self-rated ties with the Church, the teachers in the secondary school sample who declared themselves as having such ties, of whatever strength,were further asked specifically as to the frequency of their attendance at Church services, especially Sunday Mass, confession, and communion. From the point of view of the Church, for example, confession at least once a year, at Easter time, is obligatory while more frequent confessions would be desirable. On the other hand, attendance at "other services" (e.g., vespers, morning service during Advent, worship, 40-hour service, as well as the special annual services such as those in honor of the Madonna in the month of May, in honor of the Heart of Jesus in June, of the rosary in October, etc.) while welcome manifestations of deep-felt piety, from the point of view of the Church, are not really obligatory. Table 7 reports frequency (and thus intensity) of Church attendance among those who previously declared themselves as having Church ties by age and sex, Table 8 by socio-economic class background and size of community where most of childhood and youth was spent, and, finally, Table 9 reports on the Church attendance of those respondents with ties to the Church by the primacy of their professional role and highest educational level attained.

The believing person is expected, from the point of view of the Catholic Church, to participate at least once a week in Holy Mass. However, of the teachers who declared themselves as having ties with the Church only within the youngest age group (25 years or less) do more than half conform to this expectation and, among the sexes, only a little more than half the females while less than half of the "believers" among the male teachers attend Mass at least once a week. Only a little more than half of those who consider themselves "primarily specialists" and admit to Church ties attend weekly Mass. What is most surprising is that although teachers of workingclass background claimed the weakest ties to the Church it is this class alone which produces an element of believers whose Church attendance is most frequent -- much more so than the teachers of peasant-farmer background. Teachers who spent most of their childhood and youth in villages or small towns attend weekly service at the same rate as those teachers who spent their early lives in the big city. There are two explanations for the high rate of attendance at weekly Mass of

Table 7

Church Attendance by Polish Secondary School Teachers With Self-Declared Ties to the Church: By Age and Sex of Respondents (in percentages)

	Sunday Mass				Other Church Services	Confession and Communion		
	Weekly	Once A Month	Less Than Once A Month	Never	Less Than Once A Year	Annually or More Often	Less Than Annually	Never
I. Age								
25 or Less (N, 66)	52.7	18.8	28.5	--	32.2	79.6	20.4	--
26-30 (N. 55)	47.2	15.7	37.1	--	33.4	58.6	41.4	--
31-40 (N. 42)	39.0	9.2	49.3	2.5	48.9	52.1	44.9	3.0
41-50 (N. 20)	44.1	8.0	46.2	- -	55.5	55.6	41.4	--
Over Age 50 (N. 16)	45.5	11.9	35.3	6.3	75.1	56.4	43.6	--
II. Sex								
Male (N. 82)	43.7	7.3	46.0	3.0	54.4	50.3	46.7	3.0
Female (N. 117)	58.5	3.4	33.6	4.5	34.4	65.2	31.8	3.0

Table 8

Church Attendance by Polish Secondary School Teachers With Self-Declared Ties to the Church: By Socio-Economic Background and Type of Community Where Spent Most of Childhood and Youth (in percentages)

	Sunday Mass				Other Church Services	Confession and Communion		
	Weekly	Once A Month	Less Than Once A Month	Never	Less Than Once A Year	Annually or More Often	Less Than Annually	Never
I. S-E Background								
Peasants/Farmers (N. 77)	40.5	17.5	42.0	--	43.3	59.8	40.2	--
Workers (N. 64)	54.4	7.8	37.8	--	47.4	63.0	37.0	--
Intelligentsia (N. 37)	46.0	13.7	40.3	--	44.8	61.0	39.0	--
Other (N. 21)	44.5	18.1	31.7	5.7	48.5	60.7	39.3	--
II. Type of Community								
Village/Small Town (N. 65)	51.0	12.0	37.0	--	48.5	56.2	40.1	3.7
Town (N. 88)	47.5	20.0	32.5	--	48.4	57.9	39.1	3.0
City (N. 46)	51.2	12.1	36.7	--	42.8	53.5	39.5	7.0

Table 9

Church Attendance by Polish Secondary School Teachers With Self-Declared Ties to the Church: By Primacy of Professional Role of Respondents and by Their Highest Educational Level Attained (in percentages)

	Sunday Mass				Other Church Services	Confession and Communion		
	Weekly	Once A Month	Less Than Once A Month	Never	Less Than Once a Year	Annually or More Often	Less Than Annually	Never
I. Primacy of Professional Role								
Primarily Educators (N. 61)	46.1	7.8	46.1		38.9	55.0	45.0	--
Primarily Specialists (N. 41)	56.6	9.6	30.2	3.6	54.0	66.7	33.0	.3
Both Educators and Specialists (N. 97)	49.1	6.6	40.5	3.8	46.4	57.0	37.0	6.0
II. Highest Education Attained								
University-Higher Inst. of Pedagogy, Completed (N. 80)	49.8	10.2	36.8	3.2	53.9	61.8	35.1	3.1
University-Higher Inst. of Pedagogy, Not Completed (N. 102)	44.3	14.4	40.3	1.0	46.2	58.2	41.7	.1
Other (N. 17)	41.4	14.7	41.4		45.8	62.0	38.0	--

teachers of workingclass background. One might be that these teachers, if believing, take their faith with a great deal of seriousness; the reason might be that teachers of workingclass background are more susceptible to pressures from the immediate family environment than teachers of other socio-economic backgrounds. Finally, the differences in reported strength of Church ties and frequency of Church attendance are related to what might be understood by respondents as "strength" of Church-related ties. To some strong ties might be merely spiritual affinity, to others physical presence in Church. The fact remains, however, that the majority of all teachers who professed ties to the Church (53.9 percent) attend service less than the required minimum of once a week, and many of them do not even bother to attend Church once a month. In other words, *despite their self-proclaimed ties to the Church, their commitment to religion -- to judge by actual attendance -- is no better perhaps than their commitment to the values and goals of the political system which they also profess to uphold.* While they may feel for the Church, these feelings are not translated into actual practice.

However, how can the discrepancy between professed Church ties and actual Church attendance manifested, on the one hand, by teachers of peasant-farmer background and teachers of workingclass background, on the other, be explained? Some of the possible reasons were already enumerated above but the discrepancy is such that these reasons do not seem to be quite satisfactory. Mikołaj Kozakiewicz who noted similar discrepancies between verbal religious profession and actual Church attendance of teachers working in rural areas, on the one hand, and those in metropolitan centers, on the other (with Church attendance of city-based teachers exceeding that of village teachers although the latter professed to a higher degree of religiosity), suggests several additional possible reasons: (1) Teachers of village background although religiously devout may shy away from Church attendance because of a desire to maintain a certain image and prestige -- many of them may feel threatened by the competing prestige and status claims of the priest since in the village the teacher and the priest often represent two different polarities, opposing forces, and the teacher feels that by not going to Church -- despite self-felt "ties" -- he is being loyal to his own organization, the secular authority; moreover, some have either personally experienced or carry a memory of someone else's conflict with a priest, thus they bear some grudge against the hierarchy while professing in the abstract, as it were, ties to the Church. Such experiences would, on the other hand, be unknown to the city-based teachers or to the teacher of workingclass background employed in an urban setting. (2) Because of distance from a Church -- a Church may be found only in a nearby town or another village some kilometers away -- many teachers of peasant or rural background have become inured to the idea that Church attendance is not necessarily a condition of piety, especially if transportation is not easily available. (3) The village teacher or the teacher of peasant background -- unlike the urban teacher or one of workingclass background -- would be more concerned with the undesirable effects of his visibility in Church.[43] The fear of becoming visible through Church attendance and being "marked" as not fully socialized into the values of the political system which employs him may follow the teacher of peasant or village background into the city and demand caution from him lest he "betray" himself and thereby hurt his standing within the school system or his opportunities for advancement. The teacher of peasant or village background would be likely to proceed cautiously and weigh carefully the possible effects of his actions. Finally, teachers of peasant or village background may simply be either too tired from a week of work, of activity in an environment geared to city tempo, with extensive distances to cover, often by foot -- conditions of work and living which he might find harder to cope with than his urban-bred colleague -- or he may feel that he has to work harder than the teacher of city background at preparing his classes, lectures, etc. It was already noted previously that students of peasant background not only take their duties more seriously but that they also seem to require more time to accomplish the same tasks which city-bred students, of workingclass or intelligentsia background, seem to complete with ease, smoothly but also less thoroughly. As with Sunday Mass, teachers of peasant-farmer background attend special Churbh services to a lesser extent than teachers of workingclass background. The attendance of workingclass teachers at special services is only exceeded by teachers of traditional middleclass background (private entrepreneurs, etc.). However, as far as special services are concerned the frequency of attendance is less among teachers of big city background than it is among those of village-provincial town background. In fact, some teachers of village-small town background or big city background who frequent Sunday Mass do not bother to attend the special services while few of medium town background who attend the special services do not care to come to weekly Mass.

Similarly, given the high rate of self-professed ties to the Church, it is surprising that relatively few teachers attend confession and communion "annually or more often." This would again indicate that although professing ties to the Church, the Polish secondary teacher's life is rather "conventional" and not very intensive even among the females who professed strong ties to the Church and who, on the whole, show greater attendance than their male colleagues at weekly service and confession and communion (few female teachers -- 2.8 percent -- claimed attendance at daily Mass). On the whole, however, even the female teacher's religious performance is less than one would expect.

But once more, as during previous tests, it is the youngest teachers, 25 years of age or less, who exceed all others in the depth of their religious allegiances. Yet -- and this should be stressed over and over again -- it is they, educated totally under the socialist system, who would be expected to be the conscious carriers of the values and ideas of the new order and on whose performance as teachers the greatest hopes are pinned. They, the youngest teachers, not only claimed the strongest ties to the Church but 79.6 percent of those with such ties claim attendance at confession and communion "annually or more often" -- more, that is, than any other category of believing teachers. One would expect that their attendance at weekly Mass would exceed that of 52.7 percent of those with ties although this ratio is higher than in any other age group. Dr. Mikołaj Kozakiewicz on noting the pro-religious and pro-Church tendencies among the youngest teachers, comments:

> This fact should give pause to those in charge of institutions of teachers' education. It should also draw the attention of all concerned with the ideational conditions and the world outlook of the youngest teachers who will in the not too distant future fully replace older teachers and upon whose posture will hinge in the coming years the total posture of the teaching profession, and with it the entire ideological climate of our schools and of our educational system.
>
> ... These findings must be treated as serious signals of alarm, calling for more intensive ideological work on the world outlook of the future generations of teachers.[44]

As in the case of self-professed ties to the Church, level of education attained does not seem to play a significant role in actual Church attendance in the case of Polish secondary school teachers.

It is primarily the pro-religious and pro-Church responses of the youngest teachers which raises the question as to the future prospects of the present Polish school system with respect to its officially stated goals, and, specifically, as to the suitability of these teachers to perform as agents of socialization into a materialistic-scientific world outlook and into a socialist consciousness. It also raises questions as to the ability of the Polish post-war school, as currently structured and of which the younger teachers are the product, to bring up their students and pupils in a posture desired by the system. Even those who identify themselves as having "moderate-weak" ties to the Church and who seldom attend Church services would appear to be far removed from that "ideal" teacher the system hopes for, and with the younger teachers expressing a rather high level of attachment to the institution of religion it would seem that in time the "ideal" would become even more unattainable rather than -- as might be expected at first -- more realizable.

Many Poles describe themselves in their relationship to Church and religion as either "believing and practicing" or "believing but not practicing" or, alternately, as "practicing but not believing" or "neither practicing nor believing." Very few seem to be totally indifferent to religion and Church since even those who claim to be "nonbelievers," or "agnostics," or "heretics" seem to profess their beliefs (often in a lack of belief) with some measure of passion. As pointed out earlier, Polish Catholicism mingled with nationalism has evolved into a phonomenon of great complexity which many Poles find hard to cope with or to treat dispassionately. Once religious practice is officially frowned upon, the commitment to the Church -- identified with national traditions -- becomes almost a matter of principle, something to guard jealously and pursue spitefully. Czesław Miłosz describes how his own conflict with a priest in a pre-war Polish *gimnazjum* (middle school) has affected him:

> The priest took me for an atheist, but he was mistaken. I had, it is true, led him into error from jealousy: what we keep hidden is dearer to us than if we were to talk about it publicly. I noticed a similar tendency later in crypto-Catholics who had become part of the political apparatus of a Communist country. They were more ardently religious than those who practiced their faith openly.[45]

Thus, both pro-religious pressures as well as anti-religious pressures would produce similar patterns of resistance with true feelings submerging below the surface of manifest behavior and adding to the complexity of the religious-secular dichotomy. To be sure, the actual religious practices of the teachers of secondary education -- to judge by the rate of their attendance at Church services -- would indicate an ability on their part to take the demand of Catholic orthodoxy rather lightly, or, at least, to have reached in private conduct some *modus-vivendi* between their faith and the expectations of secular authority or between their faith and daily convenience. But the question is how "reliable" are these teachers from the point of view of the system's expectations, goals and values?

Given these circumstances -- i.e., the tendency of the Church hierarchy to formulate political positions often contrary to the secular authorities, the deep involvement of Poles, however abstractly, in matters of religion, on the one hand, and the expectations and goals of the system, on the other -- it is not surprising that a great deal of Polish sociological literature is concerned with the very impact of religion on the political behavior of the citizenry.[46] Władysław Bieńkowski and Jerzy Wiatr, for example, have separately tried to prove that (a) religion should not be considered as a socio-political ideology *per se*, and (b) the socio-political ideology of the Polish Church does not necessarily correspond to the ideological orientation of the Polish masses, including that of the "believers," and that in fact, the gradual secularization of Polish social life is precisely the function of the decline of religion as a "counter-ideology" to that advanced by the political system.[47] The difficulty with that position is, of course, that as long as the debate between the Church and the secular political authority is conducted in political and ideological terms and as long as both factions appeal to the citizenry for support, demanding that they take sides, religion and religious practices acquire political and ideological implications, and adherence to the one or other (to the Church, on the one hand, or to the anti-Church position of the Party) becomes an act laden with ideological and political connotations. The premise that religion is not an ideology in itself may have intellectual validity but not when religion finds its social application in acts of behavior which challenge the values and goals of social forces opposed to religion and its organization. Therefore, the hope that by denying religion of its ideological undertones the situation may appear more favorable to the political system is in large measure illusory so long as in Poland the forces of pro-religion and anti-religion are continuously pitted against each other over issues of principle and policy, including those of education.

In addition to possessing a materialist-scientific world outlook, teachers in Poland are also *expected to be politically "involved" and* *active as well as politically conscious*. For the purpose of determining the extent of teachers' socio-political activism the following criteria were used initially: Party membership and leadership office in Party organization, membership in a National Council (*Rada Norodowa*) regardless of level (since the NC is formally the basic local, district, or regional elected self-government body), membership in formally non-Party social, cultural, civic and patriotic organizations as well as leadership positions in these. Some of these formally non-Party organizations, however, are very much "politicized" and often, as in case of the Volunteer (Auxiliary) Citizens' Militia (ORMO), for example, membership would indicate commitment to the system exceeding even that of membership in the Party. However, normally only Party members are admitted to the ranks of ORMO. On the other hand, such a formally non-Party organization as that of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy (*Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację*, ZBoWiD) which, in addition to veterans of the Revolution of 1905, the Russian October Revolution and Civil War, former fighters of the Spanish Civil War, also includes men and women who participated in the Polish independence struggles of Silesia, the Western and Northern territories, political prisoners from the inter-war period in Poland, members of the partisan organizations of World War II (*regardless of political orientation*), former prisoners of the Gestapo, etc., presently serves as a rather effective and independent power base for certain people. Both a veterans' organization and an association of former, pre-regime political prisoners, many of whom were members of the pre-war Communist Party, it is dominated by the latter. It is a mass organization since its members enjoy certain privileges (e.g., domestic travel at reduced prices, special pension provisions, job advantages, etc.) due to their past revolutionary and patriotic activities. General and Minister of Interior, Mieczysław Moczar, is currently heading up the ZBoWiD, and it is generally thought that he is utilizing it for the purpose of broadening his political influence both within and outside of the Party.

Table 10 dealing with the range of organizational membership of Polish secondary school teachers as well as with the "intensity" of such membership (determined by patterns of office-holding) indicates that the teachers in the sample are generally rather apathetic. Those who are "organized" tend to favor the ruling political Party, probably because the Party is not only central to the life of the community and its various agencies but also because it is the group which offers the most practical rewards in return for membership and activity within its ranks. Teachers between the ages of 31 and 50 show a higher frequency of Party membership than teachers of other age levels. Teachers in this age category, and especially between the ages of 40 and 50, seem to be most adjusted to the system, and it would generally seem that the system rests upon the activism of persons of this age level -- that is, when the person has made peace with his environment, has settled and probably reached the height of his professional and occupational career. The same situation prevails with respect to membership and activism in the National Councils. However, since these Councils serve the larger community and election to them takes place on a community-wide basis, the tendency is to recruit as candidates for membership in the National Councils older and presumably "respectable" and "prestigious" persons, with the result that a higher percentage of teachers above the age of 50 belongs to the National Councils than would be

Table 10

Membership and Office-Holding of Polish Secondary School Teachers in Political Party Organizations, National Councils of Various Level, and Socio-Cultural and Civic-Patriotic Organizations: By Age of Respondents (in percentages)

	Age					
	25 or Less (N.82)	26 -- 30 (N.83)	31 -- 40 (N.57)	41 -- 50 (N.29)	Over Age 50 (N.22)	Unknown (N.3)
I. Political Party Organizations						
Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR)	6.5	15.6	24.0	20.7	18.0	--
Other[1]	2.4	3.9	5.8	6.9	9.1	--
None	91.1	80.5	70.2	72.4	72.9	100.0
Office Holders in Political Party Organizations	1.2	7.5	15.9	14.0	9.1	--
II. National Councils (Rady Narodowe) of Various Level	1.2	5.5	9.6	26.0	13.5	--
III. Socio-Cultural and Civic-Patriotic Organizations						
Artistic-Cultural[2]	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.4	4.5	--
Sporting	9.0	6.2	1.8	3.4	4.5	--
Youth Activity Organizations[3]	7.3	12.0	3.5	3.4	--	--
Professional (Other than Teachers' Union)[4]	6.0	1.2	3.5	3.4	9.1	--
Religious[5]	5.0	4.0	1.8	3.4	--	--
Civic and Patriotic[6]	1.2	1.2	7.0	7.0	20.0	--
Other[7]	2.4	2.4	3.5	10.0	--	--
Belong to more than 1 of Above	--	5.0	5.0	6.9	--	--
Belong to None	75.0	71.0	81.0	83.0	80.0	100.0
Office Holders in Socio-Cultural and Civic-Patriotic Organizations[8]	4.0	10.6	5.0	24.0	36.0	--
Office Holders in More than 1 of Above	--	--	5.0	10.0	--	--

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1. Other political party organizations: United People's (Peasant) -- ZSL, Democratic Alliance -- SD. 2. Artistic-cultural: literary circles (Mickiewicz, etc.), music, choral and drama groups, historical societies, Friends of Science, popular science clubs, etc. 3. Youth organizations: Scouting -- ZHP, Socialist Youth Union -- ZMS, Union of Rural Youth -- ZMW, etc. 4. Professional: specialized scientific-technical and professional associations. 5. Religious: Caritas, Pax, etc. 6. Civic and patriotic: League for National Defense -- LOK, Women's League -- LK, Polish Red Cross, Liaison with Poles Abroad -- Polonia, Friends of Children -- TPD, Secular School Association -- TSS, veteran's and former political prisoners' associations. 7. Other: Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, Freethinkers and Atheists, Volunteer (Auxiliary) Citizens' Militia -- ORMO, etc. 8. Includes office in Polish Teachers' Union.

justified in terms of Party membership or Party leadership of persons of this age category. That is, although 9.1 percent of the teachers over the age of 50 hold office in a Party organization, 13.5 percent of them enjoy membership in a National Council while, on the other hand, although 15.9 percent of the teachers between the ages of 31 and 40 serve as Party functionaries, only 9.6 percent of teachers in this age group are recruited and elected to the National Councils. The Party and the other political groups jointly forming the Front of National Unity places in candidacy to the National Councils persons who enjoy some measure of recognition and trust within the general community.

If the youngest teachers maintain the strongest ties with the Church, at the same time they show the least interest in political or social activism. Even their membership and activism in sporting organizations or in organizations of a religious nature (outside of the Church) is negligible although exceeding that of other age groups. Older teachers, especially those over the age of 50, are disproportionately represented in civic and patriotic organizations, primarily that of veterans and former political prisoners since the latter organization, as mentioned, provides very tangible benefits to its members and many teachers of this age group do qualify for membership in the organization whereas the young ones do not (having been too young to participate in the struggles of World War II and most certainly too young for participation in the preceding patriotic battles or illegal revolutionary activities). Most of the teacher-members of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy (ZBoNiD) qualify for membership by virtue of having been prisoners during the Nazi occupation of World War II.

Teachers between the ages of 26 and 30 who hold office either in the

Party or a National Council (or in both) are usually placed in positions requiring daily routine work (e.g., that of secretary, recording secretary, treasurer, program chairman) rather than in positions of a more "representative" character. The latter are reserved for older persons of some visibility within the community.

The fact remains, however, that the bulk of secondary school teachers in Poland is by choice aloof from organizational membership and voluntary activism of any kind. Yet, whether members or not, they become ex-officio involved in political and social activism which is either Party-related or Party-directed. By virtue of his position he becomes an organizational cog in the machine of community action campaigns for the achievement of various goals and objectives -- e.g., to raise money for the Millenium School Fund, for the celebration of some patriotic event, etc. As Jan Woskowski writes:

> Membership in the teaching profession does not formally force one to take an active part in molding social reality through extra-school activity. However, the real situation developed in such ways that a teacher was often forced into becoming action-oriented by the prevalent attitude towards the role of the teaching profession held by the central authorities, by the local authorities, and not infrequently by a direct order that he become involved. Such activity more often than not was not in the realm of the teacher's immediate interests nor in an area which he could even view as being legitimate inasmuch as it has no relationship to his primary tasks. Nevertheless, participation in such activities became necessary if he, the teacher, was to meet the official expectation with respect to the profession that he manifest and maintain a positive socio-political posture. As the authority of the people's government became strengthened, the number of "loyal and positive" teachers grew accordingly. It became increasingly difficult for a teacher to continue to be "apolitical" in a country in which basically all activities, regardless whether socio-economic or educational-cultural, were given political significance.[48]

Although Dr. Woskowski speaks here of the situation which prevailed most sharply during the period 1949-1956 and which he terms as "a period of teachers' activization and activism more or less conscious and voluntary but which did not always profit the school or the teachers themselves,"[49] the situation at the present, while lacking the pressures for mobilization and "politicization" characteristic of the earlier (and Stalinist) period in Poland, is nevertheless full of demands for teachers' extracurricular time and involvement. The fear of punishment of one kind or another for non-involvement may be less now, but then the rewards which go with activism are perhaps more tangible and lasting than they were in the past as the system, since 1956, has entered a stage of becoming settled into some established patterns of behavior and is increasingly seen as legitimate and enduring.

On the other hand, Polish teachers, especially in the provinces, may very well welcome the various distractions from monotony, and frequently from loneliness, which activism (not necessarily marked by organizational membership) offers. Many teachers mentioned to this writer the importance of a television set, for example, to one working in a small provincial town -- yet the cost of a television set is near prohibitive in relationship to a teacher's income. And to cite Jan Woskowski further:

> Teachers continue to be burdened by a number of additional social work duties which leave a detrimental effect on the quality of their school work. For good reasons the question was asked in 1959-1960 "What does a village teacher do?", and it was found that
>
> 1. He organizes the celebrations of Womens' Day festivities;
> 2. He organizes celebrations for Mother's Day;
> 3. He organizes celebrations for Children's Day;

> 4. He organizes the celebrations for the Day of the Forest;
>
> 5. He commands the scouting troop;
>
> 6. He leads the circle of the Union of Rural Youth(ZMW);
>
> 7. He conducts the School of Agricultural Preparedness or Agricultural University;
>
> 8. He organizes artistic-amateur clubs;
>
> 9. He is a Councilman or is otherwise involved in the organs of the National Council;
>
> 10. He participates in the work of the Agricultural Circles;
>
> 11. He puts on and shuts off the street lights in the villages where electricity is available;
>
> 12. He conducts the occasional agricultural census;
>
> 13. He participates in the collection of funds for the Millenium School Project.
>
> And! We almost forgot. Besides all the above the village teacher also has to teach school.[50]

The situation as portrayed above is certainly a bit overdrawn, especially where teachers in general and secondary school teachers in particular are concerned and, in any case, while enumerating a variety of activities does not mean that any single teacher is drawn or involved in all or most of them at any given time. Nevertheless, to judge the activism of Polish teachers by Party membership alone would certainly not encompass the wide range of activities into which teachers in Poland become involved and which a table of formal organizational membership or office-holding does not indicate.

The pressure for extra-curricular (that is, non-school-related) activities seems to be greater in the provinces than in the large metropolitan centers. In fact, when the respondents in the secondary school sample were asked about the distribution of time in terms of weekly activities, provincial teachers indicated that "social work" consumes more of their time than "school work" (see Table 11). The teacher in the large urban area seems to be more able than his provincial colleague to escape "visibility" into the fold of the school, the family, or entertainment. The latter, entertainment, seems to be important to both the big city and the provincial teacher but fewer teachers in the latter category seem to be able to squeeze it into a schedule replete with "social work," "political work" (although not necessarily related to Party membership), in addition to work at school. The provincial teacher's lot is more geared to work in or out of school than that of his colleague in the big city and his activities related to private life (i.e., family, friends, social life, etc.) are moved into the background. He does not even have time for his own self-education although many of the provincial teachers have indicated interrupted progress towards an advanced degree. It further seems that such interruption for whatever reason would often be instrumental in assigning a teacher to work in the provinces while, at the same time, once there, denying him proper facilities for completion of his own higher education and subsequent upgrading of his qualifications. It is one of the vicious circles in which some individuals are caught -- a circle in which one event leads to another without ability to reverse the process and with debilitating effects both to the individual and to the school system.

As a result, teachers seem to consider their non-school-related social and political activities as being "in line of duty," ex-officio, as an imposition, a chore, with the further consequence that when they are asked to rate the importance of the various roles they "perform" in life very few (only 8.9 percent) rated the citizen-related role (that involving socio-political and civic activity) as the most important to them. Even

Table 11

Rank-Order of Activities Engaged in By Polish Secondary School Teachers: By Location of Employment and By Hours Allotted for Each Activity *

Rank Order	Large Metropolitan City Type of Activity	Weekly Hours Allotted	Provincial Town Type of Activity	Rank Order
1	School Work	48 or More	Social Work	1
2	Immediate Family	41-47	School Work	2
3	Culture-Entertainment	30-40	Political Work	3
4	Social Life, Sport, Tourism			
5	Self-Education	20-29	Culture-Entertainment	4
			Immediate Family	5
6	Social Work	10-19		
7	Close Friends and Relatives			
8	Political Work	5-9	Administrative and Economic Activity	6
9	Administrative Work and Economic Activity	Less Than 5	Social Life, Sports, Tourism	7

*Some of these activities overlap -- e.g., entertainment and social life, political work and social work, etc.

the role related to their favorite leisure time activity (i.e., amateur painter, writer, artist, sportsman, gardener, etc.) was rated by many more teachers (21.4 percent) as being more important than the role of citizen -- and this in a country where the stress on citizenship and the sacrifice connected with that role has so often been put to test in the past. To the teacher this test, however, currently seems to be a daily and unwelcome task to be disposed of routinely and without too much taxing emotional involvement. Yet, he seems to take his professional work seriously -- so much so, in fact, that he rates the role of teacher above that of family member which, in turn, is rated higher than that of citizen but not much higher than that connected to his favorite leisure-time activity (see Table 12 and Figure 1). Perhaps the rating of the family role as lower than that of his professional role and only slightly above that connected with the favorite passtime activity is a function, in part, of the traditionally hierarchical structure of the family and the fact that a substantial number of the respondents in the sample (42.4 percent) were male and thus were to be freed from the care of the family aside from the duty of providing economically for their material existence. Traditionally also, the Polish male saw his "going out ~~with~~ the boys" or even the privilege of "chasing girls" as a prerogative of his manhood and not in conflict with his obligation to his family -- this despite his Catholicism. But as indicated, his Catholicism itself was seen in a collectivistic social category rather than as an imperative for personal conduct, especially in the realm of morality. On the other hand, the overall high rating given to the role of professional teacher may result from the relative permanence of secondary school teaching in Poland and precisely the presence of

Table 12

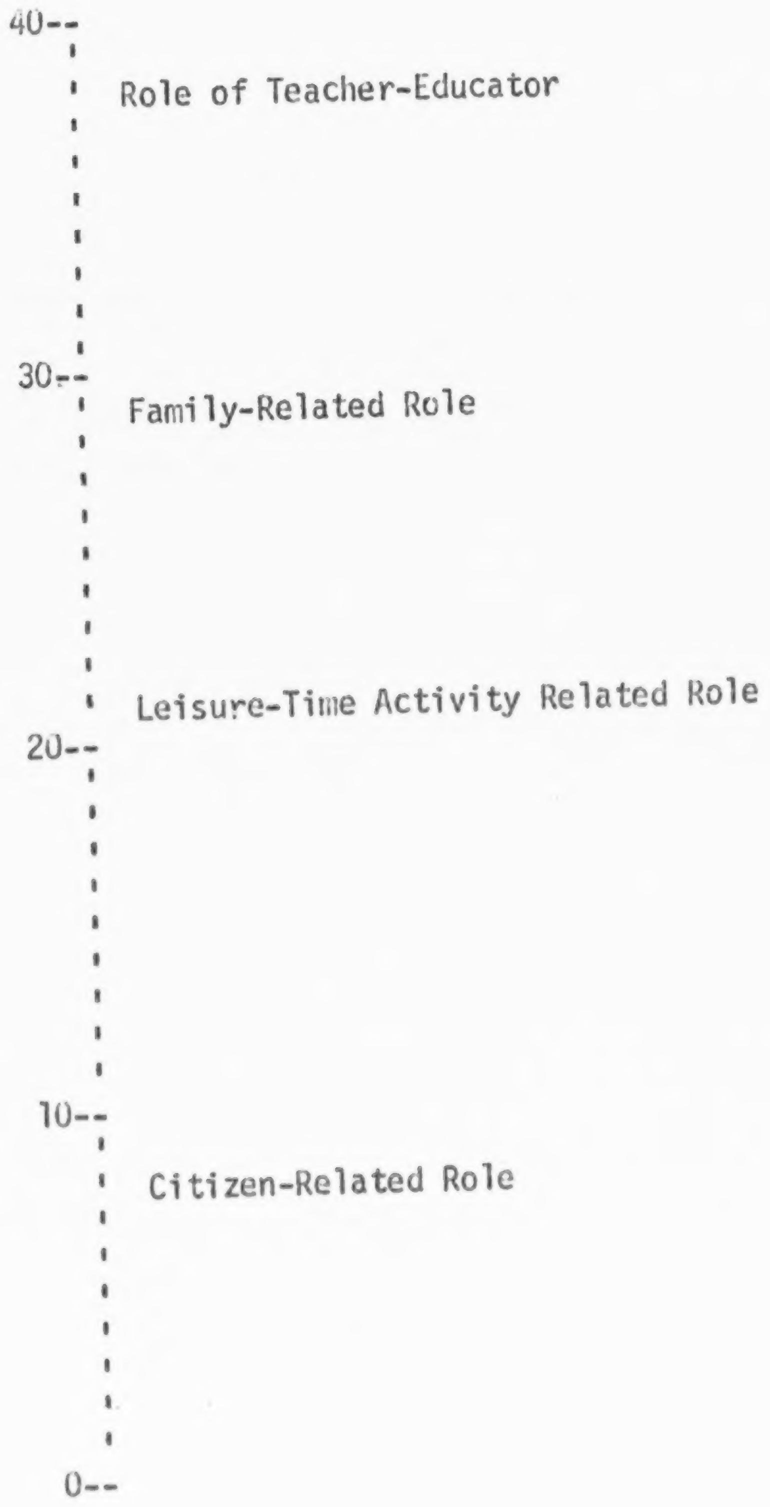
Primary Importance Attached to Four Suggested Roles as Rated by Polish Secondary School Teachers: By Length of Tenure in the Profession (in percentages)*

	Length of Tenure in Teaching Profession (in years)*					
	Less Than 6 Years	6-10 Years	11-20 Years	Over 20 Years	Total Teachers	
Roles	(N. 51)	(N. 127)	(N. 74)	(N. 24)	N.	Percentage
1. Teacher-Educator	31.4	36.3	51.3	45.9	111	39.9
2. Family-Related Role (i.e., mother, father, son, daughter, wife, husband, etc.)	33.3	30.7	20.3	50.0	83	29.8
3. Citizen-Related Role (socio-political and civic activity, etc.	2.0	11.0	10.8	--	23	8.9
4. Leisure-Time Activity Related Role (e.g., angler, mountaineer, writer, musician, artist, gardener, etc.	33.3	22.0	17.6	4.1	59	21.4
Totals		100.0	100.0	100.0	276	100.0

*Tenure in profession includes total tenure within the school system, including employment at other levels of education prior to entering secondary school teaching.

Figure 1

Rank-Order of Roles in Perception of Polish Secondary School Teachers



a majority of women in that profession and the absence of occupational alternatives available to that sex. In the United States, for example, where males constitute a majority of teachers in some secondary school systems and where for a variety of reasons (primarily economic) they consider teaching -- regardless of tenure in the profession -- as "transient," the commitment to the role of family member transcends that of a commitment to the profession-related role. Not perceiving his teaching as a permanent occupation, seeking "greener pastures," as it were, the American teacher may very well turn his first responsibility and gaze to his family and their welfare rather than to his career.[51]

On the other hand, the high rating given by many teachers in Poland (21.4 percent) to the leisure activity-related role may be the product of the persistance of one of the dominant Polish "character-types." Florian Znaniecki, Józef Chałasiński, and more recently, Jan Szczepański, have pointed out that the "gay, playboy type of Pole" was rather well entrenched in traditional Polish culture and society and is presently counteracting the development and formation of a new "socialist type" of Pole. The "playboy" type, as the other traditional social types (that of "Catholic," "Economic Man," "the Well-Mannered Gentleman," etc.), has a tradition to draw upon and to continue while the "Socialist" type has no precedence in the Polish past or culture, nor did he have a "school" in pre-People's Poland to prepare him for the role normatively expected under the present system. Such school would have taken the form of pre-World War II socialist or communist organizations which at that time, however, were either in a minority or illegal (or both) and in either case lacked the abilities which would enable them to develop fully a subculture of their own with a personality type to fit that subculture and to find a dominant place in the present political system which would ideally welcome the type.[52] In other words, while the new "socialist type" is yet to take root, the traditional social Polish character types persist.

In addition to having a materialist-scientific world outlook and in addition to being actively "engaged," teachers in Poland as elsewhere also are expected to be agents of cultural diffusion generally. As in the case of value socialization, for the teacher to become an efficient agent of socialization he must himself become thoroughly "socialized," so in the realm of cultural diffusion for the teacher to become its agent he himself must be thoroughly "cultured." The Poles in particular place great stress on kultura and on the expectation that the teacher will be kulturalny. In fact, rather than an expectation, the Polish pedagogic literature takes the teacher's "culture" as almost a given quality, a synonym for teaching, an apriori assumption that he indeed is "cultured," a person of culture.

In order to ascertain what is the cultural level, or at least the direction of cultural interests of Polish secondary school teachers, questions were asked relative to their book-reading patterns, tastes in films, etc. It appears that Polish teachers prefer the works of native writers, both classic and modern. Among the latter writers some interest is given to the inter-war literature some of which (as the works by Maria Kuncewiczowa, Pola Gojawiczyńska, Józef Witlin, and others) are appearing currently in reprint editions. They show a definite preference, however, for writers who attained literary fame prior to World War II but have remained in the country and write on themes derived from the recent Polish past, including the period of occupation, the struggle for liberation and the immediate post-war period -- writers such as Adolf Rudnicki, Maria Dąbrowska, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Jerzy Andrzejewski, Hanna Malewska, Jan Dobraczyński, and others. Poetry (e.g., Julian Tuwim, Władysław Broniewski, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Tadeusz Rózewicz, Mieczysław Jastruń, Antoni Slonimski, and others) figures quite prominently among teachers' favorite reading material, along with books of such disparate nature as serious works on history, politics, and philosophy (Leszek Kołakowski, Adam Schaff, Stefan Żółkiewski, Tadeusz Kotarbiński, Antonina Kłosowska, Józef Chałasiński, Bohdan Suchodolski, etc.), humor and satire (Stanisław Dygat, Sławomir Mrożek, Stanisław Lec, etc.), detective novels set in a familiar locale (Dominik Damian, Jerzy Edigey, Antoni Marianowicz), as well as works purportedly portraying social, moral and erotic styles and mores (Magdalena Samozwaniec, Dołęga-Mostowicz, etc.). Of foreign literature, among the most popular are translations from the French (Gustave Flaubert, Stendhal, Jean-Paul Sartre, Marcel Proust, Andre Malraux, Albert Camus, as well as Louis-Ferdinand Celine, Gabriel Chevallier, Jacques Serguine, Colette, and Françoise Sagan), from Russian (Leo Tolstoy, Fyodor Dostoyevski, Ivan Turgenev, Nikolay Gogol, the poetry of Pushkin as well as Boris Pasternak, the humorous works of Mikhail Zoshchenko as well as those of N. Ognyov, Yurii Olesha, books and short stories by Maxim Gorky, Leonid Andreyev, Alexey Tolstoy, Ilya Ehrenburg, Michael Sholokhov, Isaac Babel, Konstantine Simonov, Alexander Solzhenitsyn), from German (Franz Kafka, Stefan Zweig, Thomas Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger, the dated essays of Egon Erwin Kisch, the historical novels of Theodor Plivier, Willi Bredel, Peter Neumann, Hans Falade, the classic poetry of Heinrich Heine and Lessing, the works of Rolf Hochhuth, as well as the popular novels of Vicki Baum). Among American writers the following enjoy popularity: Theodore Dreiser, O. Henry, Sherwood Anderson, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, John Steinbeck, Sinclair Lewis, the earlier social protest works by Upton Sinclair, Thomas Wolfe, James Jones, William Saroyan, Pearl S. Buck, Robert Penn Warren, Richard Wright, F. Scott Fitzgerald, John Dos Passos, William Styron, John Hersey, the modern novels by Bernard Malamud, Saul Bellow, John P. Marquand, John Barth -- a varied list. Some of the respondents claimed to be able to read the aforementioned foreign language authors in the original or in translations other than Polish (e.g., Czech, German, Russian, French).

The teachers mentioned domestic films as the most enjoyable and among the most frequently mentioned were Ashes and Diamonds, Lotna, Knife in the Water, the Polish epic Farao, Grunwald, Canal, Squinting Luck . (Zezowate Szczęście), Mortale, The Last Stop -- films dealing mainly with the Polish present or immediate past. These were followed by films of Czechoslovak, Italian, French, and Russian production as the most favored, as well as a "Western" based upon the novel by Main Reed (Winnetou) of East German production. American Westerns were mentioned as popular but no particular film was cited by title. A few Japanese films were singled out by a few teachers who particularly enjoyed the documentary on the Olympic Games in Tokyo in 1964.

In music, among the most frequently mentioned as favorites were the symphonies of Beethoven, the concertos of Chopin and Liszt, the symphonies of Mahler, and especially the The Passion and Death of Our Lord Jesu Christ According to St. Luke by the young Polish composer Krzysztof Fenderecki. Other works by Penderecki were also cited. In opera tastes again leaned towards the "native" with Halka and The Haunted Manor (Straszny Dwór), both by Stanisław Moniuszko, most frequently cited as best known and liked, followed by Bizét's Carmen. George Gershwin's Porgy and Bess was known to a substantial number of respondents who have seen it or heard it. Among the older teachers, however, the most favorite music were either Polish folk tunes, patriotic (including soldier and guerrilla) songs, and the sentimental hits of the pre-war period made popular again by such currently well known Polish singers as Sława Przybylska and Irena Santor. They also enjoyed the semi-underworld or urban folk songs sung in Warsaw prior to World War II and mentioned several titles in this connection. Younger teachers, on the other hand, mentioned as most liked the music by Louis Armstrong, Dave Brubeck, some West European jazz productions, the music produced by some native Polish ensembles (e.g., the "Red-Blacks" -- Czerwono-Czarni, the Blue-Blacks -- Niebiesko-Czarni, and others), and particularly the recordings of the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. None of the folk singers popular in the United States were mentioned.

Table 13 shows the pattern of readings other than books among the respondents in the sample. The daily press seems to be the most popular reading fare of Polish teachers, followed closely by the general professional press (such as the official Teachers' Union organ), and popular news and picture magazines (e.g., Przekrój, etc.). In addition, the teachers in the sample also show a great deal of interest in specialized and serious professional periodic literature, in order of the Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny (Pedagogic Quarterly), etc. Generally, if judged by the reading trends, Polish secondary school teachers seem to be both profession-oriented and varied in their interests. From a comparison of the reading patterns of Polish secondary school teachers with those of Ljubljana and a community in the United States, it would appear that while the Poles are substantially more profession-oriented than their American colleagues they are somewhat less so than teachers in Yugoslavia. The tendency of the secondary school teachers in the American community was more towards the consumption of popular journals of opinion than towards the general professional-educational press while the Yugoslavs, unlike the Poles and Americans, avoided journals of opinion or literary journals in preference for magazines of general entertainment. That is, the Poles appear to be avaricious readers both in the field of periodicals and in the area of books and seem to consume large quantities of material in a variety of reading fields, regardless of character, while the Americans tend towards the lighter fare or the capsuled, easily digested news magazine, and the Yugoslav are strictly and narrowly professionalized as well as relaxed (and "light") in their reading choices. For example, in that comparative study while only 24.1 percent of the U.S. teachers read the general professional press regularly, the comparative percentages for the Ljubljana teachers and the Poles were 64.0 and 59.9 respectively; while only 10.9 percent of the U.S. teachers read the specialized educational and professional press regularly, the percentages were 22.5 for the Yugoslavs and 24.1 for the Poles. On the other hand, 29.1 percent among the U.S. teachers read popular news and picture magazines regularly while the Yugoslavs and the Poles maintained a similarly high readership pattern in this area (23.4 and 57.2 percent respectively) but only 4.5 percent of the Yugoslavs read journals of opinion or literary journals as compared with 50.0 percent of the American teachers and 32.0 percent of the Poles. In the field of entertainment magazines, the regular readership was 19.5 percent for the American teachers, 41.6 for the Ljubljana teachers, and 34.9 for the Poles.[53] However, while the Polish secon-

Table 13

Polish Secondary Teachers' Familiarity With Various Types of Publications: By Age of Respondents (in percentages)

Type of Publication	25 or Less (N. 82)	26 -- 30 (N. 83)	31 -- 40 (N. 57)	41 -- 50 (N. 29)	Over Age 50 (N. 22)	Un-known (N.3)	Total (N. 276)
I. Daily Press							
Read Regularly	47.6	49.4	91.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	67.5
Read Occasionally	8.5	8.4	8.8	--	--	--	7.5
Never Read	43.9	42.2	--	--	--	--	25.0
N.A.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
II. General Professional Press							
Read Regularly	40.2	45.8	70.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	59.9
Read Occasionally	35.4	50.6	29.8	--	--	--	31.7
Never Read	22.0	1.2	--	--	--	--	6.9
N.A.	2.4	2.4	--	--	--	--	1.5
III. Specialized Educational/Professional Press							
Read Regularly	2.4	18.1	31.6	55.2	59.1	100.0	24.1
Read Occasionally	13.4	15.7	24.6	41.4	40.9	--	22.0
Never Read	84.2	66.2	43.8	3.4	--	--	53.9
N.A.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
IV. Popular News and Picture Magazines and Popular Digests							
Read Regularly	41.5	48.5	63.2	86.2	100.0	33.3	57.2
Read Occasionally	4.9	48.2	36.8	13.8	--	--	25.0
Never Read	53.6	3.6	--	--	--	--	17.2
N.A.	--	--	--	--	--	66.7	.6
V. Journals of Opinion and Literary							
Read Regularly	12.2	16.9	42.1	69.0	77.3	100.0	32.0
Read Occasionally	35.3	36.1	57.9	17.2	13.6	--	36.0
Never Read	52.5	47.0	--	13.8	9.1	--	32.0
N.A.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
VI. General Entertainment Magazines							
Read Regularly	36.6	28.9	31.6	51.8	31.8	33.3	34.9
Read Occasionally	25.6	25.3	35.1	24.1	31.8	33.3	28.2
Never Read	37.8	45.8	33.3	24.1	36.4	33.3	37.9
N.A.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

dary school teachers overall seem to meet the "cultural" and professional interest expectations of the system rather well, significant differences emerge between the various age groups, as indicated by Table 13. And again, as in the previous tests of the teachers meeting the system's expectations, in this one too the younger teachers seem to fare less well than their older colleagues. That is, in the areas of relevant readings, whether this concerns the reading of the daily press or the professional press or other printed news media or, finally, journals of opinion or literary journals, the activity seems to decline with the lower age group and, conversely, increase with age. In fact, in the area of "professionalization" as signified by reading of the rich Polish specialized educational and professional press, the interest declines dramatically with the younger age groups until it reaches the insignificant level of 2.4 percent regular readers as compared to 59.1 percent among those over the age of 50. The downward sliding reading pattern -- as one moves from the older teachers to the younger -- characteristically is broken only in the area of reading magazines of the popular and general entertainment variety. Here the reading or nonreading pattern is not characterized by age with those between the ages of 41 and 50 manifesting the greatest "enthusiasm" while those between the ages of 31 and 40 and over 50 years of age maintain more or less similar levels of moderate interest in this type of material. What these findings suggest once again is that tenure in the profession (in addition to age) induces the teacher to develop occupational, social and general interests, and age, of course, helps in "settling down" to the sedate pursuit of reading. At the same time, however, these findings beg the serious question as to the preparedness of the younger teachers, those already fully educated under the new system, to meet the system's chal-

lenges and expectations. It should be remembered that the hope was expressed by the leaders of the Polish educational enterprise that as younger procadres, brought up in People's Poland, fill the ranks of the teaching profession the task of socialization will become accelerated. In the meantime, every test shows that *quite the opposite takes place unless, of course, tenure in the profession as well as age do indeed exercise a socializing influence all of their own*. Since the teachers are expected, in addition to being "cultured," to be also socio-politically conscious and aware, one cannot help but wonder from where a large number of younger secondary school teachers derive their knowledge about current events and, what is very important, the proper ideological and political interpretation of these events -- considering that within the age group of 25 or younger, 43.9 percent never reads the daily press, more than half never reads popular news and picture magazines or popular digests and again more than half never reads journals of opinion nor even the general entertainment magazines which at least regularly summarize the most important events of the week (e.g., *Przekrój*, *Stolica*, etc.) in addition to featuring some off-beat news items and news photos. In general the picture of the *younger teacher conveys the impression that he is apathetic, almost alienated, disinterested, merely marking time*. Surely enough, he could derive his information about current events and the "political line" from listening to radio, watching television and from attendance at meetings of the union branch or the basic Party Organization, if a member. But we do already know that Party membership among younger teachers is rather negligible. On the other hand, we lack information on patterns of radio listening or television viewing, especially with respect to the choice of programs. However, we learn from

Jan Woskowski that 38.0 percent of Polish teachers with higher education attend the movies systematically once a week and 53.6 percent attend a live theatre performance at least once a month while only 19.3 percent attend a symphonic concert at least once a month.[54] We further learn from Woskowski that teachers with higher education tend to limit their library borrowing to books of immediate occupational concern, but possesses small book collections of their own, and among those who do possess private book collections most items on the shelves are novels and less than half are books dealing with education and only a very few deal with other scientific topics. Other types of books (e.g., politics, etc.) are to be found in teachers' private collections only to a limited extent. Between 7.2 percent and 13.2 percent of teachers have at home neither an encyclopedia nor a foreign language dictionary or a dictionary of foreign phrases used in the Polish language. At the same time 14.5 percent of teachers with higher education and 7.2 percent of teachers with only a secondary education indicated that they never utilize a library other than their own.[55]

On the basis of similar findings Józef Sosnowski maintains that

> The results...unfortunately completely substantiate the casual observations about the minor role of teachers in the process of cultural diffusion. It appears that the teacher in the big city who has, after all, at his disposal very many sources of culture dissemination -- spends only 30 minutes a day on their utilization. Such utilization is most often reduced to a hasty reading of a popular newspaper or to listening to a radio news broadcast. ...teachers in the city read very few novels, seldomly go to the movies and to the theatre. Even worse is the situation with teachers in small towns. These teachers assign only 15 minutes a day to their association with culture!
>
> ... In this manner a vicious circle develops: The teachers who are supposed to strengthen culture not only among children and youth but also among adults can not properly participate in culture themselves nor in its use.[56]

Sosnowski blames these conditions on lack of time and finances which would enable the teacher to make full use of whatever cultural facilities are available in the community. It would appear then that if the teacher indicated substantial time allocation -- both in the metropolitan areas as in the provinces -- to "culture and entertainment" (see Table 16), they most likely had in mind the marginal areas of both or that type of "entertainment" which includes a gathering (stypa) with friends or colleagues over a favorite bottle of alcoholic beverage, or perhaps a meeting or assembly which they attend in line of duty and which features a lecture, a musical number performed by an amateur group in which he, the teacher, is involved -- again in line of duty or semiduty.

Sosnowski maintains further that the situation on the elementary school level is even more removed from the "cultural expectations" of the system. As mentioned, the teaching cadres on that level consist overwhelmingly of women -- 82 percent of the teachers in elementary schools are females, according to Sosnowski. He writes:

> The road to marriage for the young female teacher in the big city usually stems from a casual acquaintanceship. Research among 100 young female teachers working in large cities indicates that in 84 cases they met their future husbands quite accidentally, in 12 cases the future husband was a colleague from the school bench or a childhood sweetheart, and in 2 cases a colleague working in the same school and in one instance a colleague from the SN courses.
>
> Among the 84 husbands casually met, 64 had an education inferior to that of the wife (usually vocational) and in 20 cases the husband had an education either equal or superior to that of his wife. It appears therefore that generally the husbands of young teachers have an education inferior to their own and are thus unable to positively affect their wives' further intellectual growth.
>
> Even worse is the situation of young female teachers working in the villages. Quite often they enter into marital bonds with young farmers whose education is hardly of the elementary level.[57]

As with many other aspects of adjustment to life and the existing social conditions, circumstances seem to compel the female SN graduate to compromise, as it will be recalled, with her original endorsement of the traditionally hierarchical structure of the family which for the sake of alleged marital bliss would have the husband superior to his wife both educationally and occupationally, as well as in earning power. Perhaps the female teacher's husband does indeed earn more than she despite his own lower educational level but given a culture of stratification related in large measure to educational achievement it would take from a person -- especially a teacher and particularly if that teacher is of lower class background and views her professional status as a social move upward -- considerable adjustment to the hard facts of the material surroundings for her to compromise her freshly gained higher social status for the sake of economic security.

But overall it would seem that the Polish teacher manifests a familiarity with cultural products -- authors, books, titles, etc. -- impressive in its range even though superficially acquired, and generally he seems to pursue a variety of newspaper and journal reading patterns which are balanced between general cultural interests and those of professional concerns, both broad and specialized. Yet, as indicated, in summary his cultural level seems to fall short of the system's expectations and this is especially disconcerting in the case of the younger teachers, fully educated under the new political and educational system.

To many teachers the very goals of the school system, the purpose of their work, as it were, seems to be a considerable source of frustration. For example, the secondary school teachers were asked to describe in their own words what they think the primary goals of education should be. Although they rated their own citizen role extremely low, they nevertheless thought that the primary goals of education should be the development of good citizenship, a sense of social responsibility, a well-rounded personality capable of contributing to the social and economic welfare of society. In their responses a considerable number of teachers stressed dissemination of knowledge and the development of proper work habits as a primary school objective. Fewer teachers mentioned the development of proper manners, good behavior (in the sense of obedient conduct) and the teaching of tolerance as major goals in themselves. The teachers were next asked whether they think the primary goals of the present educational system actually meet their expectations -- that is, if the actual goals are what they think they should be.

As Table 14 shows, the teachers in the sample do manifest a general satisfaction, however small, with what they perceive the goals of the present educational system to be. Yet, at the same time, a large number (41.1 percent) think that the present goals -- as they perceive them -- differ from the ideal they have in mind. A majority of teachers of intelligentsia background (56.0 percent) express outright dissatisfaction with the present Polish educational goals while among the teachers of peasant-farmer background the difference between those satisfied with the goals and those dissatisfied is only 2.2 percent, in favor of the former. As in the case of self-rated ties to the Church (see Table 6), the teachers of workingclass background meet -- as would be expected from an ideological point of view -- the system's expectation as to their contentment with that system's goals. However, as in the area of religious-secular dichotomy, here too the endorsement of teachers of workingclass background with the system's goals are not without qualifications. Not only do 30.3 percent of workingclass teachers view the existing goals as departing from the ideal but 20.5 percent either did not know the answer or hesitated in giving one. In fact, if one could add the "Don't Knows" and blanks to those who are dissatisfied the level of dissatisfaction would exceed that of satisfaction with the system's goals in all socio-economic background categories. And as in previous tests, the position of the intelligentsia and of teachers of "mixed" (that is, middleclass and private entrepreneurial) background is the most dubious from the system's point of view as to "reliability," satisfaction, etc.

In his 1964 study Józef Kozłowski asked a similar goal-related question but differently phrased. Rather than asking the respondents to state the goals themselves as they perceive them and then proceeding to question them as to their satisfaction (in terms of their own stated ideals) with these, he, instead, asked the teachers as to their agreement with the goals they are formally required to realize in the process of their educational activities. He further asked his respondents to enumerate the goals and objectives which do satisfy them and to state the reasons why, and, conversely, to state the goals and objectives which do not satisfy them and to state why not. The results of Kozłowski's inquiry are illustrated in Table 15. Rather than by age, his responses are reported by type of school in which the teacher is employed and by location (primarily with respect to Warsaw-based schools and schools outside of the capital). It should be borne in mind that Kozłowski's research was undertaken about two years prior to the survey reported here. While many aspects of Polish

Table 14

Agreement-Disagreement of Polish Secondary School Teachers As To Whether Existing Primary Goals of Education in Poland Are What They Should Be: By Socio-Economic Class Background of Respondents (in percentages)

	S-E Background				
Agreement-Disagreement	Peasants-Farmers (N. 91)	Workers (N. 112)	Intelligentsia (N. 50)	Other (N. 23)	Total (N. 276)
Present Goals differ from what they should be.	46.2	30.3	56.0	43.5	41.1
Present Goals do not differ from what they should be.	48.4	49.2	38.0	30.4	45.3
Don't Know/No Answer	5.4	20.5	6.0	26.1	13.6

socio-political and economic life have become stabilized in the course of these two years the general atmosphere has become somewhat "tightened" and the regime has moved further away from the libertarian slogans of 1956, has become conservative, security minded, and the tensions between the State-Party on the one hand and the Church, on the other, have increased reaching its culmination in 1966 at the time of the Millenium celebrations (to which the Polish hierarchy invited the German bishops) -- and 1966 was the year when the presently reported study was conducted. Moreover, Kozłowski's study encompasses teachers of all educational levels (elementary and secondary) while the presently reported study is limited to a sample of secondary school teachers. These differences may account for some of the differences in the results obtained by the two surveys. Yet, the differences in levels of satisfaction-dissatisfaction are surprisingly not very great although in Kozłowski's study a clear majority (56.7 percent) approves completely of the goals and objectives which they are formally required to realize. But, significantly, even in that study the levels of satisfaction-dissatisfaction differ with the occupational environment of the teacher. Thus, for example,

Table 15

Levels of Approval-Disapproval by Teachers of the Goals of the Present Polish Educational System: By Type and Location of School in Which Employed (in percentages)*

Type of School and Location in Which Employed		Approve Completely	Approval-Disapproval Critical of Goals	 Rejection of Present Goals	Don't Know
Special (Model) Schools	(N. 238)	58.0	27.3	6.3	8.4
Warsaw Schools	(N. 95)	41.0	40.0	5.3	13.7
Non-Warsaw Based Normal Schools	(N. 102)	67.6	21.6	2.0	8.8
Total	(N. 435)	56.7	28.7	5.0	9.6

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*Based on Józef Kozłowski, Nauczyciel a zawód (Warsaw: Nasza Księgarnia, 1966), p. 68.

the teachers in the sensitive and crucial Warsaw school system (which would employ teachers of intelligentsia and workingclass background to a greater extent than non-Warsaw-based schools) approve of the stated goals and objectives much less readily than teachers employed elsewhere. If we add those who are "Critical of the Goals" to those who reject them outright, the dissatisfied outnumber the satisfied by 4.3 percent and, if we could further add to these the rather large number of Warsaw-based teachers (13 out of 95) who hesitated with a response, it would appear that a majority of Warsaw-based teachers have at least doubts as to the propriety of the goals and objectives they are required to realize in the course of their occupational activities. The extensive endorsement of the goals by non-Warsaw-located teachers (where those of intelligentsia background would be less prominently represented while those of peasant-farmer background and smalltown workingclass background would be dominant) confirms the findings of the presently reported study with respect to the general behavior of teachers of these backgrounds. It should be remembered that teachers of rural background while strong in self-declared ties to the Church showed a lesser intensity in terms of actual Church attendance than teachers of workingclass background even with similarly strong self-rated Church ties. In any case, the findings of both these studies point (a) to the transitional nature of Polish society and (b) the socio-economic classes, which are supposedly dominant in the official class pyramid and on behalf of which the system purports to rule, still manifest considerable socialization deficiencies, especially among its allegedly avant-garde elements, the teachers and educators.

In analyzing his data Kozłowski classifies the goals and objectives to which the teachers objected as follows: (a) goals of socialist education; (b) goals which are formulated with such a degree of ambiguity that they invite varying interpretations; (c) goals rejected outright, other than those of "socialist education."

Among the rejected goals and objectives he differentiates three types: ideological, political, general educational. Interestingly enough the teachers in the special (model) schools, a majority of whom (58.0 percent) approved of the stated goals and objectives related to ideology and "world outlook," generated the most opposition otherwise. Among the reasons given for opposition he cites from some open-ended responses by teachers -- e.g., "Goals and objectives borne from ideological premises are transient, changeable and therefore of little value to the student," "Although I am an atheist I do not believe in ideology-related educational goals because I believe in the freedom of conscience," "I do not believe it proper to minimize the achievements of states of a different political system," "I do not believe in condemning automatically everything that is capitalist," etc. Other objections are more in the nature of reservations, to wit: "The goals of socialist education are too lofty to be realizable," "The slogan 'education of future builders of socialism and in the spirit of socialist morality' is too vague," "This type of education does not prepare the pupils for their future vocational pursuits," "It is important that the goals be in accord with the educator's own convictions," "I have doubts as to the educational objectives because of two reasons: one, I myself do not understand it all, and, second, I have doubts as to the propriety of the objectives; they create frictions among the colleagues and, as a result, diminish the teacher's authority."

The presently reported survey also requested that the respondents comment open-endedly on the causes of their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the perceived goals of the system. To cite a few as illustrations:

1. Hostile Comments

> "Rather than goals we ought to have more textbooks, supplies and adequate school structures. There is too much talk of goals."
>
> "Intellectual growth depends on an atmosphere of free inquiry. Therefore, any kind of indoctrination only serves as a brake for such growth. The student ought to be schooled in such a way as to be able to arrive at his own conclusions."
>
> "Repression and propaganda only lead to opposite results and is therefore counter-productive."
>
> "While the mind accepts the rationality of the present goals of education, sentiments and tradition -- hard to overcome -- pull in the opposite direction."
>
> "It is proper to illuminate in class the foolishness of the dogma but religion as such grows from the inner needs of man. Both the Church and the State should be able to coexist in peace."
>
> "Only fools believe that a 1000 year long tradition can be liquidated through administrative measures."

"Religious education should be present in the school because it has served well our fatherland and its citizens."

"Religious training is useful in the formation of moral values."

"Poland was powerful under the rule of believers -- I wish that those in charge of People's Poland would join the Church."

2. Comments favorable to perceived goals:

"I am opposed to religion in public education. Religion is in the way of human progress in the area of science and technology and we need to advance in these areas."

"The clergy has too long intimidated our population."

"I am not so much opposed to religion as to the manipulations of the Church and since the Church has opted for a role in politics modern education must take a stand."

"The dictate of the ideology must become the dictate of our conscience."

"Although religious I endorse the principles of a materialist world outlook."

"The school should be a training ground for materialist-scientific thinking patterns, free from superstition and dogma. The only trouble here is that much of our socialist education is in the hands of Party people who are themselves secret believers."

"The materialist world outlook has really gained roots in People's Poland."

"A blindly religious person is not teachable."

"For the first time in our history do we have loyal allies and security on the borders. If our education can perpetuate these conditions I would be satisfied."

"I think that religious matters are becoming increasingly remote to the average Pole and the educational system must adjust itself to the new conditions."

"Separation of State and Church has merit. Religion is a private affair."

"The Church was traditionally openly hostile to public education. Why should public education accommodate the Church?"

"I am glad that the priest (ksiądz katecheta) was finally removed from the school premises. He behaved in a lordly way and applied corporal punishment towards children of nonbelievers."

> "I hope the time is soon around when the clergy will cease intimidating teachers, especially in the villages."
>
> "The school ought indeed to be secular but I doubt whether it really is."
>
> "The goals are good but the question is whether our teachers' training prepares the cadres to achieve these goals."

The above remarks culled from the responses indicate once more the depth of the schism between the contending forces in modern Poland and the extent to which the Polish teacher, even the one indifferent to religion, is preoccupied with this problem. Yet, as was shown previously, the majority of Polish teachers do accept the principle of separation of school and Church but, at the same time, many also fear the social consequences for the Poles as a nation from a radical rupture between the two and from a radical severing of traditional moral bonds. The Church is still a powerful force within the community, especially in rural areas and small towns. Polish teachers, especially those working in the villages, not infrequently only two or four per school, reflect the religious beliefs and attitudes of their environment but, at the same time, because of their professional work, find themselves exposed on the front line of the secular-religious, Party-Church battle, and as representatives of the secular order in competition with the local priest. They find themselves pitted against the priest, often against their will, simply because the institution they represent, the school, is frequently perceived as a challenge to the local parish. Both the institutions of the secular and political order and the teacher, on the one hand, and the Church and the priest, on the other, not only hold out the promise of different worlds and not only approach problems of life from differing philosophical positions, but not infrequently outside forces intervene to bring the two in the local area to a head-on clash in a struggle over popular allegiance, in soliciting for community services, etc. If the school and the Church, the priest and the teacher, somehow reach a modus-vivendi and, instead of combat, opt for co-existence, then neither of them has really deeply internalized the values and norms of his particular order because neither is, within the state of peace and calm, vigilant to the threat of the other. In the course of in-depth interviews many teachers indicated that the priests they know are really good men, good patriots, and not harmful to the goals of socialism -- a position which would indicate that either the priest has somehow accommodated himself to the political system or that the teacher has accommodated himself to community reality. The fact is that in many provincial and rural localities such accommodations, such modus-vivendi, has indeed taken place but where it did it was the secular authority which has given way and retreated before the religious authority rather than the reverse. Yet the official exhortations call for vigilance and posit the goals of education and the duties of the teachers in very militant terms.

Indeed, as programmatically stated, the objectives of contemporary Polish education do constitute a direct challenge to the Church. These objectives, as enumerated by Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, are based on the following premises and postulates:

1. That the school trains its pupils and students in a scientific world outlook;
2. That the school treats instructional subject matter from a materialist point of view;
3. That the school is an instrument for the promotion of secularization of Polish society;
4. That the school is an active and sincere participant in the establishment of a socialist order in People's Poland.[58]

Assuming that these objectives were sincerely conceived and are meant to be implemented, how capable is the teacher, who at best still has one foot within the Church, of accomplishing the tasks expected of him? Kozakiewicz has posited precisely this question to his sample of 1,000 Polish teachers (of secondary as well as elementary education) who have previously identified their own relationship to religion and the Church by the various forms and encountered patterns of religious beliefs and practices (see Table 16).

Since many of Kozakiewicz's respondents identified themselves as both "believing and practicing" Catholics they were, in effect, asked about their own suitability to meet the goals of the system. Nor surprisingly they found themselves "suitable" in meeting the educational goals and objectives of the system. Surely enough, one may brush off their responses as the result of almost instinctive desire for group self-protection, perhaps an attempt at soothing systemic hostilities they may sense, coupled with a natural desire for job security and perhaps even hypocrisy. However, the question must have been very awkward for them and difficult to answer, and a few, indeed, rated their kind as "unsuitable" in the achievement of certain goals. Significantly, however, while some had doubts about meeting the "scientific," "materialistic" or "secular"goals of education, none had any doubts about meeting the "socialist" objectives -- a position common to some Party ideologues who ascribe precisely such ability to the Polish Catholics by assuming, first, that religion is not a formal ideology and, second, it therefore should not hinder the religious person from embracing the ideology of socialism. However, Polish socialism is formally of the Marxist variety and thus, while positing its vision of the future social order in ideational terms, bases the achievement of that order primarily upon materialist premises. Official Polish socialism, in fact, rejects pre-Marxist or

Table 16

Opinions of Polish Teachers as to the Suitability of a Religious Teacher in Meeting the Goals and Objectives of Contemporary Polish Education: By Respondents Own Identification with the Church and Religion (in percentages)*
(N. 1,000)

	Self-Identified Form of Relationship with Church and Religion of Respondents					
GOALS AND OBJECTIVES	Believing And Practicing	Believing Not Practicing	Not Believing but Practicing	Not Believing and not Practicing	Heretics, Agnostics etc.	Unknown
I. Develop in students a scientific world outlook						
SUITABLE	44.2	32.5	15.3	5.2	41.0	66.7
NOT SUITABLE	4.4	20.8	25.9	59.8	10.8	--
II. Treat subject matter from a materialist point of view, often contradictory to religious premises						
SUITABLE	24.5	26.0	14.1	6.6	32.4	--
NOT SUITABLE	3.4	13.0	30.6	45.9	12.2	--
II. Promote secularization						
SUITABLE	21.9	37.7	24.7	20.5	42.4	33.3
NOT SUITABLE	1.9	13.0	28.2	40.6	6.5	--
IV. Participate in establishment of socialist order in Poland						
SUITABLE	58.3	59.7	48.2	45.4	66.2	--
NOT SUITABLE	--	3.9	16.5	21.4	6.5	--

*Source: Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, *Światopogląd 1000 nauczycieli: Sprawozdanie z badań ankietowych* (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1961), p. 228.

non-Marxist socialism as either utopian or "bourgeois." Religiously oriented teachers were also rated as suitable to "promote secularization" although to a lesser degree than they were believed to be capable of "building socialism." Here the difficulty is apparently related to what is understood by the term "secularization." Obviously the religious teacher can treat any subject in the physical sciences either by describing facts and phenomena or trying to reconcile the religious and scientific outlooks or he may, alternately, remain moot where reconciliation would seem impossible to him. But in the context of the Polish system the question of "secularization" does not relate merely to separation from Church but rather to secularism as a world outlook, a philosophical position contrary to that of religion. The meaning given secularism merely as separation from the institution of the Church is acceptable in systems where that separation is seen as organizationally and politically convenient, partially in order to accommodate the various approaches to religion, the various affiliations with a multitude of denominations, but where the general climate is one of belief in God or in an accumulation of ethical principles of various or related beliefs, such as that of Judeo-Christianity. In People's Poland, however, socialism is the official ideology, the formally accepted, endorsed and propagated philosophical point of view and it is this official creed which is placed in direct contradiction to religion.

What is also seen from Table 16 is that the further the respondent is removed from a pro-religious attitude the greater his readiness to respond to the various questions and the readier he feels to disqualify religious teachers as suitable in meeting the tasks of the current system. Heretics and agnostics may give the religious teacher benefit of the doubt, they may trust that colleague's professional judgment -- it is the respondent who is neither "believing nor practicing" who is readiest to disqualify the believing teacher from most activities in the socialist school -- again with the only exception, that of helping build the "socialist order" generally. On the other hand, the "non-believing and non-practicing" respondents see the religious teacher's greatest inability to meet the objectives of the system in the area of inculcation of a scientific world outlook -- that is, precisely the area where the religious teacher finds his own suitability most appropriate (next to that of meeting the objective of "building socialism").

Since the official position of the Party, the Front of National Unity, and of the government -- taking into consideration the realities of a society in transition -- is that religious teachers may indeed contribute to the establishment of a socialist order, it is surprising that nevertheless 21.4 percent of those who are "non-believers and non-practicing" and 16.5 percent of those who practice but do not believe have challenged the suitability of religious teachers to meet this very objective of the system. These respondents one may say either are not quite familiar with the Party position on the matter, or, being familiar, disagree with it and take a position which is less politically accommodative but more Marxist doctrinaire as well as "idealistic" from an ideological point of view. Kozakiewicz himself comments on this problem:

> One could and should realize all goals of socialist education with the aid of the teachers who are religious. But simultaneously one must considerably increase our ideological work among them so as to influence their world outlook, bring about a transformation in their outlook, a broadening of their perspectives -- not only for the good of education but for their own good as well because it will free them from the unpleasantness of contradiction, lack of intellectual consistency, painful moral scruples, from the necessity of having to maneuver

> constantly between idealistic religion and materialist practice in their professional and social activities.[59]

Thus, although officially the contribution of the religious person is invited and he may even be made welcome because of necessity, it is also realized that the teacher who has a commitment to Church and religion may find himself in a rather awkward position because of the demands and goals imposed on him by the authorities of the political system. Boxed into this awkward position, how "suitable" to the goals of socialization can he really be? Given the stated goals of the system and given the traditional and deep rooted influence of the Church within the community and the role of religion within Polish culture -- influences and a role which threaten the government of the political system and its stated ideological and value objectives -- how lasting indeed can that alliance be between the system and teachers who have their feet in both camps, as it were? It is, after all, the future and thus the security of the system which depends on the work of loyal, dedicated, and committed teachers to bring up future generations of loyal, dedicated, committed, and skilled citizens -- provided, of course, that those in charge of the system are themselves serious about their official statements relative to the future.

For reasons of economic survival in the modern age, for prestige, for security, as well as for reasons related to ideology and the developmental programs inspired by the ideology, great stress is placed on the need for the inculcation of the values of a scientific-technological culture, the development of industry and modern technology. As was already pointed out, however, although great strides were made in that direction the ingrained traditional values and norms serve as counterforce to the goal of rapid industrial and technological change and the social styles that go with such change. Thus, while the Pole takes great pride in newly established steel mills and industrial plants, much of the new industrial spirit still remains within the realm of oratory and symbolic homage. There is talk about efficiency and well-functioning organization -- and indeed some progress is clearly visible in this area -- but at the same time the traditional attitude towards time, work and leisure still persists. While the Pole admires the gadgets of convenience associated with a technological culture and the industrial West, the "good life" to him is still one of leisure, of drink, of retreat into the pastoral countryside where life is very much as it always has been rather than one of hard work and productivity. To change these patterns, to bring about greater receptiveness for the norms of an industrial society, the system relies very much on the schools and on education. While the traditionally upper classes continue to crowd classrooms and schools training in the humanities and social sciences and consequently, these are the academic pursuits enjoying high esteem, efforts are being made to develop a wider network of vocational training institutions and to encourage young people to learn a trade which has immediate economic and industrial relevance. Such encouragement is often boosted by promises of higher pay and appeals to patriotic pride because it conveys the notion of placing the individual on the ramparts of the coming technologically advanced age to which the country must adjust itself if it is to progress and prosper. The idea of "building socialism" becomes linked to the idea of industrial development, industrial work, and scientific-technological progress. Courses of vocational character have even been introduced to the secondary schools of general education which until not long ago were the exclusive reservation of the humanities and where knowledge of Latin was often emphasized even more than courses in physics and chemistry or even mathematics. How do secondary school teachers in Poland who were themselves brought up on a humanistic tradition, who were themselves educated in the classic tradition, or in the sciences but unrelated to the immediate need of the economy -- how do they themselves react to the new emphasis on vocationalism or what the Poles call polytechnization and to the expectation that they become the propagators of the values of a new culture? Since teaching of Polish history traditionally pointed with pride to heroic cavalery charges, even in the accounts of the battles of September 1939 against the German invaders -- while the sad state of unpreparedness and the underdevelopment of the Polish armed forces is pointed out, and the pre-war regime is made to shoulder the blame for the state of affairs which pitted Polish sabers against German motorized divisions -- emphasis is nevertheless given to the point that the heroic Pole imbued with the lofty spirit of patriotism challenged and occasionally overcame the impersonal machine. The campaign of September 1939 is portrayed not as war but as a brutal slaughter perpetrated by the Germans because that engagement was not fought by the traditional rules of warfare and chivalry and of men against men, cavalry against cavalry. The defense of Westerplatte during which a small Polish military detachment defended its narrow enclave on a sandy strip of land in the Bay of Danzig (Gdańsk) against the overwhelming forces of the German army, the Danzig S.S., the Danzig police forces, and the heavy cannons of German battleships anchored off-shore in the Baltic waters -- a defense which, despite lack of arms and fortifications, medicine and food, lasted over a week and in which only sixty soldiers survived -- is told over and over again in chronicles, poems, novels and film. How then can a teacher of history internalize and stress the superiority of machine-related values as presently expected? Or what about the teacher of Polish literature -- a literature rich in romantic tradition and somewhat "feminized" poetry -- how can he presently stress the superiority of the message emanating from a literature of industrial construction and try to instill in his students an appreciation for the values promoted by the "proletarian" novel?

The teachers were asked to respond to the following statement: "One of the main tasks of the modern school system is to keep abreast of the ongoing technological and economic changes and to adjust itself to these." It was anticipated that normally older teachers, teachers of longer tenure (who received their own education at a time of more traditionally oriented culture-patterns) as well as teachers primarily trained in the humanities (and who, in the main, identified themselves as "primarily educators") would react to the current drive for vocationalism, polytechnization and scientificism -- in short, to the requirement that the school adjust itself and propagate the values and norms of an industrial-technological culture -- more negatively than would teachers of younger age, shorter tenure in the profession, or who consider themselves primarily as subject matter specialists (and who, in the main, were teachers in the physical sciences and mathematics). As it turned out, these expectations were wrong in many instances and apparently did not take into consideration the specificity of Polish conditions. The results obtained (see Table 17) frequently show quite the opposite to be true: that acceptance of the technological-economic changes and the concomitant systemic demands for vocationalism progresses with tenure in the profession -- up to a point, however, since it "slackens off" with those employed for more than twenty years. It also progresses quite dramatically with age, drops somewhat past 40 and quite dramatically again past fifty. As expected, however, teachers who consider themselves primarily subject matter specialists (and are mainly representative of the physical sciences and mathematics) are more receptive to the idea of keeping abreast with technological advancements and economic changes than are the humanities' teachers who consider themselves primarily educators and who have previously, on the issues involving ideology on the one hand and religion on the other, accepted systemic expectations with greater readiness than have their specialist-colleagues. But as before on the issues of ideology and religion now, too, teachers who consider themselves both as educators and subject matter specialists -- that is, teachers who by self-designation have described themselves as fitting the polytechnic scheme which stresses both "character education" and vocational-skill training -- lead in accepting the technology-oriented goals of the system. Those who identify themselves merely as educators and who readily accept the changes brought about by ideological and political pressures and who are quite ready to re-orient themselves in their world outlook on matters of religion, morality, or to revise their outlook on Poland's past or future so as to fit the officially expected line -- these teachers, the "ideologues" as it were, the carriers of the humanistic-ideologically related values of the system, are, not unlike their humanistically oriented colleagues in the West, resentful over the rapid changes brought about by technology and worried over its effects. While ready to accept the broad socially related goals of the system, they pause when it comes to accepting the values of a technical-industrial culture, especially as it impinges on their own immedi-

Table 17

Polish Secondary School Teachers' Reactions to Statement on Keeping Abreast with Ongoing Technological and Economic Changes and Need of Adjustment to These as Being A Main Task of the Modern School System: By Age, Tenure in the Profession, and By Self-Perceived Level of Subject Matter Specialization or Educational Generalism of Respondents (in percentages)

		Agreement-Disagreement							
		Agree Strongly	Agree	Total Agreement	Agree in Part	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Total Disagreement	Don't Know/No Answer
I. By Age									
25 or less	(N. 82)	26.0	26.3	52.3	31.0	6.7	3.0	9.7	7.0
26-30	(N. 83)	33.8	35.2	69.0	21.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	6.0
31-40	(N. 57)	40.3	36.9	77.2	11.2	5.6	6.0	11.6	--
41-50	(N. 29)	17.5	54.8	72.3	20.7	3.0	2.0	5.0	2.0
Over 50	(N. 22)	20.0	29.9	49.9	23.1	20.0	5.0	25.0	2.0
Unknown	(N. 3)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	100.0
II. By Length of Tenure in Profession									
Less Than 6 Years	(N. 51)	25.7	25.5	51.2	40.4	4.1	1.0	5.1	3.3
6-10	(N.127)	36.3	36.7	73.0	16.3	3.3	2.0	5.3	5.4
11-20	(N. 74)	22.2	52.6	74.8	20.2	3.2	1.8	5.0	--
Over 20 Years	(N. 24)	30.2	37.4	67.6	6.3	11.7	8.0	19.7	6.4
II. By Self-Perceived Primacy of Professional Role									
Primarily Educators	(N. 85)	27.1	41.1	68.2	26.0	2.3	2.3	4.6	1.2
Primarily Specialists	(N. 54)	40.3	37.9	78.2	12.3	2.5	3.0	5.5	4.0
Both Educators/Specialists	(N.137)	38.1	41.0	79.1	8.4	4.6	2.7	7.3	5.2

ate environment and work. It should be mentioned here that at the time when this study was initially undertaken (1966), the problem of the "two cultures" was heatedly debated in the intellectual circles in East Europe as it had been in the West several years before that. Although very few of the participants in the discussion were familiar with the book, The Two Cultures, by C. P. Snow and the few available copies of the essay were passed from hand to hand, the issues posited were the same and formulated in the same terms as they were in the West when the book first appeared.[60] It seemed that both in the East and in the West the humanistically oriented system advocates and ideologues of their respective "world outlooks" felt most threatened by the "scientific revolution" which they saw as endangering the moral values of their respective political cultures. On the other hand, the subject matter specialist among the Polish secondary school teachers (to a large extent physicists, chemists and mathematicians) who were skeptical about the system's anti-religious stance were very willing to adjust themselves to the demands brought by a changing technology, and, perhaps, saw in such adjustment an eventual escape from "politics" and purely politically borne demands. Some among them had reservations, though, about complete acceptance of the polytechnic goals of education -- greater reservations, in fact, than their colleagues who saw themselves as both "educators" and "subject matter specialists" and as such, no doubt, perceived themselves as straddling the gulf between the "humanistic-ideological-political revolution," on the one hand, and the "scientific-technological revolution", on the other, bringing about a social synthesis in polytechnization, a merger of humanistic-ideological education with technical specialization, precisely in the same terms as they saw their own professional role. The teacher-"primarily specialist" did not see any conflict between his own belief in God with the demands borne by the technological-scientific revolution as he did not see any conflict between his religiosity and his scientific training, and, as mentioned, he may also expect that a school system preoccupied with meeting the economic challenges of a technologically-scientifically induced revolution will allow freedoms for political diversities, including those of religious practice. He may hope, in other words, that more concern with vocationalism will induce lesser concerns with politics and reduce political pressures on the educators themselves.

Older teachers (those over 50 years of age and/or of over 20 years of professional tenure) may very well feel threatened by the unknown prospects resultant from rapid scientific and technological changes and may consequently feel shaken in their security, both psychologically and professionally. In a country to which the full impact of the "second industrial revolution" has come late, which has in large measure preserved the traditional culture-pattern, the older teacher was a person of knowledge and esteem. Trained in the humanities, he may learn his Marxism at an even older age and adapt himself to the intellectual and socio-political demands of the system -- on the other hand, it would be harder for him to retool himself to fit the demands of the more exacting and skill-oriented culture patterns brought about by the full reign of a scientific-technological revolution. He, the older teacher, may not like what the new politician says but at least he can understand the language, and the new political slogans while utilizing symbols and content different from the slogans of old serve, however, the same social function of mobilization and legitimization and are thus within "tradition." Moreover, while the political slogans have changed, much within society has remained the same.

On the one hand, the older teacher suspects that the technological-scientific revolution will be more thorough in its social effects than the political changes have ever managed to be, and, consequently, threaten his own status position which will have to give way to the scientist and technologue. He fears that as society will become generally more technologically-oriented and science-minded he will become relegated to an inferior position on the prestige scale, not only because there will be greater competition among the "knowledgeable" within the community and the economy but also, and more importantly, the kind of knowledge that he possesses and stands for will, in time, become obsolete.

On the whole, however, it would seem -- as was indicated by other tests -- that tenure in the profession does indeed affect the teacher's readiness to accept systemic demands, especially where the teacher does not personally or professionally feel threatened and where the system is unequivocally clear in its signals, as it is in the case of its polytechnic expectations.

Initially we hypothesized that older teachers, especially of working-class or peasant background, who have entered the profession at a later age and received their own education in the post-World War II period may be more amenable to systemic demands of all kinds than other teachers of the same age group. It was thought that their reaction would be resultant from a sense of gratefulness to a political system which has given them a chance for a new start, however late in life. Unfortunately, the number of older teachers educated in the post-World War II period is rather negligible. The effect of the war years is such that the reverse is more frequent -- that is, younger teachers of long tenure in the profession, persons who launched upon a career immediately after the war with incomplete credentials and with a professional education far from complete.

As in other tests, here too the youngest teachers (both in terms of age and in terms of professional tenure) are the most disappointing from the system's point of view. If in the area of religion one may explain their reluctance to be pressured into extreme secular positions by their still close link to their families or because of a protest against some aspects of the socio-political reality, one would expect that in the area of accepting the scientific-technological goals of the system they would be more receptive both because they are after all the children of the "modern age" and because, as the scientists in the sample, they may see in the stress on science and technology hopes for apoliticization. Previous tests have indicated that if the younger teachers have any intellectual commitments this would be to "modernity," however shallowly conceived. To be sure, a majority of the younger teachers accept the scientific-technological goals of the new school but it is a very slight majority. Several explanations suggest themselves: (1) many younger teachers automatically react negatively to whatever demands the system makes on them; (2) they manifest apathetic tendencies and cannot be aroused by any objectives; (3) they are skeptical about the system and its abilities to achieve whatever goals it sets for itself with the result that they cannot get too aroused over them; (4) they, as the teachers over 50, do not really feel prepared to meet the challenge of an "ongoing" scientific and technological revolution, and while hungry for the material benefits brought about by technology and science they feel professionally threatened by the social consequences of a full reign of science and technology. In other words, the reaction of the very old teachers and the very young is similar in nature and borne from the same reservations, rooted in the same feelings of fear *and inadequacy*. If this is so, the reaction of the younger teachers would be the result of an education -- already obtained under the new order -- which although espousing symbols of scientific and technological progress has neither managed to instill in its charges the values of a scientific-technological culture nor a deep-rooted intellectual commitment to its goals nor, finally, the know-how to substantively cope with it. A glance at the performance of students in *lycea* of general education in the next chapter may provide some clues in that area. But if their own education is to blame for the youngest teachers' lukewarm endorsement of the vocational and polytechnic goals of the system, then the wholehearted endorsement of these goals by the teachers of middle age and of 6 to 20 years of tenure (whose educational experience would either be the same as that of the younger teachers or less relevant to the scientific-technological changes) could only be attributed to a greater degree of *conformity to systemic goals and objectives -- whatever these may be -- which comes with age and socialization into the professional organization. Such conformity can only be broken by a particular goal's threat to one's professional security and social status*, as in the case of the oldest teachers and those of longest tenure in the profession.

As far as the polytechnic goals themselves are concerned: On the broader programmatic level it is assumed, very much in Marxist terms, that the general development of man hinges upon the development of a scientific and technical culture, on the one hand, coupled with political-social and economic progress in the direction of socialism, on the other. In the narrower sense, as concerns the individual and the practical task of educating for such "development," the ideal is to inculcate him both with elements of socialization into the ideology and with scientific-technical expertise. As Professor Bohdan Suchodolski writes:

> An ever greater role is being played...by elements transcending narrow specialization. There is a growing tendency to expand the group of disciplines which is to constitute the scientific basis of particular professions. In many cases it becomes necessary to include in it disciplines very remote from the basic trend of professional studies. Thus, for instance, the education of a modern engineer must include some elements of social and psychological sciences, for he is now no longer just in charge of technological processes; he also stands at the head of a working team expected to show initiative, intelligence, to cooperate in the advance of technology.[61]

The tendency in practice might be, however, that while the engineer and physical scientist will become familiar with the language of the social sciences and the values of the political system, the humanist will remain immune to the language of science and persist in seeing it as a threat, however remote. Moreover, if the humanist remains within the school system to educate the prospective engineer, given the former's reservations and fears, how successful can he really be in giving equal weight to both goals: that of the values of the scientific-technological culture and that of the "socialist" culture?

Chapter V

The Product of the Educational Effort: The Schools and the Students

1. School Plants and Supplies

The official literature makes frequent claims of big strides made in the area of education as compared to the state of affairs which prevailed during the interwar period. The network of kindergartens, for example, has grown from 1,506 during academic year 1938-39, the last year of pre-People's Poland, to 7,950 in 1966-67. The number of institutions of higher learning has increased during the same period from 32 to 76. However, the number of lycea of general education has increased only by 77, from 789 in 1938-39 to 866 in 1966-67, and the total number of elementary schools has actually decreased, from 28,921 in 1938-39 to 26,564 in 1966-67. The increase in kindergartens and the decline in elementary schools could be explained only in terms of the still-felt repercussions of the population slaughter in World War II, boundary changes, urbanization, etc. Having given up the rural areas of the East and having gained, instead, the urbanized areas of the West which were under German administration before World War II the Poles supposedly were able to cut back the number of elementary schools (especially rural) and replace these with more centrally located facilities in the urban centers. However, between 1938-39 and 1966-67 the elementary school population grew by 563,550 pupils (from 4,963,500 to 5,527,050) and the secondary school population by 88,506 (from 234,200 to 322,706).

The largest student body increase was registered by the vocational school system: from 227,632 in 1938-39 to 1,629,180 in 1966-67, an increase of 1,401,548.[1]

The extent to which the repercussions of World War II are still in evidence -- a war in which 6,000,000 of Poland's population physically perished (including 3,000,000 of the country's Jews) -- is to be seen by the fact that in 1965, twenty years after the war, Poland's total population was still 3,298,000 less than it was in 1938 (31,551,000 as compared to 34,849,000 before the war). It is a country in which more than half of the population is 29 years of age or younger but in which the number of child births is steadily decreasing, however slightly, since 1960 despite Catholic strictures against the use of contraceptives and against governmental birth control programs; economic conditions simply compel large segments of the population to resort to mechanical birth control measures and to abortion. Finally, Poland is a country in which females outnumber males -- again a still-felt heritage of the war years -- by close to a million. Warsaw, the capital, had less population in 1965 than it had in 1939 despite annexation of many outlying areas and suburbs.[2]

The Millenium celebrations of 1966 offered an occasion to mobilize extra resources for the expansion of the school network. Under the slogan "1,000 New Schools for the 1,000th Anniversary" a vigorous campaign was launched for constructing an additional 1,000 schools over and above those already planned for that year by the administration in the course of normal expansion. Funds were solicited for this purpose from individuals as well as from organizations, groups (such as school children), and economic enterprises. September 1 -- the date of the 27th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II -- was set as the target for completion. However, when academic year 1966-67 began, only a part of the ambitious plans were realized. By that time, for example, only 516 new elementary schools were ready for operation and among these only 148 were "Millenium Schools," that is, results of the mass subscription campaign. By the end of March, 1966, the construction enterprises managed to complete only 13 elementary school structures -- that is, only 2.9 percent of the projected elementary school building program -- and the building speed increased only slightly during the remainder of the year. However, at the beginning of academic year 1966-67, 49 new vocational school buildings and 40 new school workshops were ready for use emphasizing the accelerated emphasis on that type of education. Also the dormitories (internaty) increased their capacity by 6,400 new places.[3]

As a result of the inability of the building enterprises to meet the plan for 1966, many school construction projects were postponed for the following years. Consequently, 11 new school buildings were erected in Warsaw during 1967 -- seven elementary schools, three vocational schools and one special school.[4] Nevertheless, construction continues to lag behind the plans. The addition -- as a result of the school reform -- of an eighth grade to the "complete" elementary schools placed a special burden on that educational level, taxing the existing plants and affecting the work of the teachers. As in the past, rural schools suffered the most. One provincial school official pointed out to this author in the course of an interview that as a result of the school reform and the addition of an extra grade to each school at least 31 additional classrooms are needed in his county (powiat) at a time when each school suffers from a classroom deficit predating even the reform. He said:

> We were told the situation can be improved only through the exercise of local initiative, that we should not look to the central authorities for help because in Warsaw they have their hands full. However, our district (Województwo) National Council did not plan for the need and did not ap-

propriate the necessary funds. You see, Warsaw makes plans but these do not sift down to the local organs. Since 1961 the Education Department of our county (*powiat*) National Council has its own building crew since it was difficult to make any headway with the normal construction enterprises. Yet this building crew planned for 1966 only alterations, routine painting jobs, minor improvements in the existing facilities, but not the construction of new ones. And this in the Millenium Year when all the talk is about school construction.

Q. What could be done?

A. We are trying but, frankly, it is like beating your head against a wall. We hope to arouse people in the county, to generate public discussion on the problem -- then maybe someone will move.

Part, but only part, of the difficulty is that the centrally based Fund for the Construction of School Buildings and Dormitories (*Społeczny Fundusz Budowy Szkół i Internatów*) will cover only 60 percent of the cost of constructing new school facilities, the remaining 40 percent of the cost to be derived from locally generated funds -- funds to be obtained through special drives such as that launched nationally for "1,000 New Schools for the 1,000th Anniversary" or from the income of locally based industries. It is also the responsibility of the local authorities, the local National Councils, to set the educational building goals for the areas within their respective jurisdiction and to create the funds to meet a substantial portion of the operating expenses. However, the sources from which some local Councils could create the necessary funds are rather limited, and, consequently, they turn to the Councils of higher administrative level, shifting the burden of responsibility upward. The problem is less acute in the economically wealthier regions such as Silesia but in the areas of economic depression (as in the *Województwo* of Białystok or in the Eastern parts of Warsaw *Województwo*) the matter of providing 40 percent of the necessary funds takes on dramatic proportions indeed with resultant ill-effects on the teaching programs. Moreover, because of the inability of the various construction and maintenance enterprises to fulfill their job contracts on schedule, local authorities find themselves unable to draw up firm financing plans at the beginning of the fiscal year, to allocate necessary funds for new projects, since they find themselves having to draw from the current budget for work undertaken in previous years but completed only presently. Even within metropolitan Warsaw which is divided into city districts (dzielnice) with corresponding dzielnicowe National Councils, certain districts more than others must rely on the all-city council which, in turn, finds it difficult to budget all the programs undertaken. However, Warsaw is in the fortunate position of having the central authorities located within the city and of having well established links to the government ministries and the Party leadership. For 1967 the Warsaw National Council allocated one thousand million złotys for education -- a sum which even at the time of appropriation was thought to be inadequate in meeting local needs in the field of education.[5]

Other localities within the Warsaw Województwo are less fortunate however. For example, the county (powiat) of Grodzisk Mazowiecki within the Warsaw Region has 53 elementary schools of which only 47 were able to add the required eighth grade in 1966-67 to bring them up to "complete" status. Of the 53 schools, nine are located in towns and 44 in fair-sized villages. However, most of the school buildings are in various states of disrepair: seven structures need major alterations and additions, and 40 were listed as in need of "routine" repair work -- that is, roofing improvements, installation of water pipes, toilets, heating facilities, etc. For 1966-67 the county had 500,000 złotys allocated for capital school improvement and 220,000 for "routine" repair and maintenance work. The county authorities of Grodzisk Mazowiecki were thus more sympathetic to the needs of education than similar authorities elsewhere. However, in meeting their plans -- for which funds were allocated -- they met head-on with the usual difficulties: to find the building enterprise which would undertake the jobs and, once undertaken, be able to complete the work on schedule. In principle, municipal or state building enterprises should assume the responsibilities of constructing public structures (such as school buildings) and of capital improvements. But these enterprises must show a degree of economic self-sufficiency, and in order to keep a labor force on its rolls it must produce at year's end a bonus which can be shared by its employees. Consequently, the municipal and state construction enterprises would rather undertake the building of income-producing structures which would yield a premium upon completion -- that is, apartment houses, industrial plants, etc. Also, apparently schools habitually have a lower priority than, let us say, buildings for governmental administration or even health centers with those responsible for drafting the work schedule for these municipal and state construction crews. As a result, those responsible for school construction and maintenance must turn to the independent construction cooperatives or private entrepreneurs which, however, have lower priorities in securing building material than the municipally or state-run enterprises and which also have greater difficulties in attracting skilled labor. Moreover, since most of the work required by the schools involves repairs, the cooperatives and private contractors find these types of jobs less profitable than outright construction and consequently they are reluctant to bid for these. There is not much profit for a private entrepreneur in a repair job for which he may receive from the county 15,000 złotys and for which, in addition to labor, he must supply hard to get and expensive material: roofing, bricks, wood, cement, etc. For the opening of school year 1966-67, the powiat was hoping to have two new school buildings of six rooms each, additional school office space, needed workshops, plus a teachers' apartment housing project which was also scheduled to be ready by September, 1966, since the powiat was expecting an influx of 40 new teachers to whom housing was promised. The cost of the teachers' housing project was 500,000 złotys. However, by the end of June, 1966, none of the projected new structures, additions, or repairs were even near completion and the nervous school authorities were making plans to rent private homes and peasant dwellings as temporary living quarters for teachers and for holding classes. According to the Warsaw Województwo school Kuratorium, a similar situation obtained in all powiats of the Warsaw region and appropriate moral appeals were issued to municipal, state, and cooperative building enterprises, as well as to private entrepreneurs, in the hope that they might help complete the projected Millenium school plans.[6]

Thus, the quality of school plants, of the physical setting for education, and the facilities, hinges upon (a) the willingness of the local governmental authority to accommodate the pressures of the educational interest groups, (b) completion of the mechanics of fund appropriation, documentation, etc., in sufficient time, (c) finding a contractor willing to undertake the work, (d) the contractor's ability to secure necessary labor and supplies, (e) his completing the job on time.

The Kuratorium of the Warsaw City School District publicly advertises its new school construction and repair plans and, as per requirements, invites competitive biddings from "state enterprises, cooperatives and licensed independent craftsmen." The successful bidder is expected to obtain his own material and supplies. However, as one Kuratorium official pointed out to this author, while the construction of a new school building may attract some bids from various contracting enterprises (who, he said, "most certainly" would never complete the job within the specified time), the minor repair jobs will remain without bidding as there is not much profit involved in this kind of work and the small entrepreneur who might be attracted would be deterred from bidding by the provision that he supply his own material. He, the private contractor, depends for his material on the "black" market and he can obtain it only at a price which would raise the cost of the job beyond the point allowable by the authorities and the budget allocated for the purpose. The private construction entrepreneur would rather work on private jobs or on cooperative or industrial building sites where the total payment can be more flexible and more realistically adjustable to the actual work cost.

A. Wiśniewski narrated the following story involving the construction of a school building in a village located in the Województwo of Białystok: The eight-grade school was housed in a barracks which burned down. It will take at least two years to have a new structure built. Why so long? First, as already indicated, it takes time to adopt the very decision to proceed with the construction. Second, the legal documentation required before an invitation for bids can be issued is involved and complicated -- it means obtaining formal authorization, drawing up plans, finding the appropriate site, securing the necessary utilities, mollifying a variety of community interest pressures and obtaining their written endorsements, etc. Once the first wave of documents are secured and approved, a second wave of documents are necessary, more technical and specific than the first. Various bureaucracies are involved in the process each pulling in its own direction and the approval and consent of each must be secured: the powiat education inspectorate, the Bureau of Projects, the Województwo National Council, the administration of the building enterprises, the banks which offer the necessary building credits to cover the cost until the budget may be finally approved and set aside, etc. It takes almost a year between the time a project such as constructing a school is conceived and projected until the time when the go ahead order can be given. In the official jargon, the first is known as the "Projective Plan" and the second as the "Directive Plan." But once the "Directive Plan," the order, is in force the already familiar difficulty of having a construction enterprise begin the actual work is encountered. Wiśniewski points out once more that the construction enterprises must "protect themselves" and, therefore, they are not too eager to undertake the building of schools which are less profitable to them than some other construction projects.[7]

However, education is not alone in having its building needs unmet because of the pressures prevailing within the economy. For example, the Ministry of Communal Economy finds its own projects and programs continuously lagging behind schedule because of an inability to build or secure proper service centers. In a discussion on the problem, Dr. Czesław Niewadzi of the Economic Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences put forth -- rather mildly -- the suggestion that

> It seems that at present it is quite appropriate and justified to advance the principle that investments in the area of services be given at least equal weight as investments in the area of production.[8]

In other words, the central planners give greater priority to industrial development projects capable of producing immediate income than to services, and it would appear that education, too, rates a lower priority than industry although officially the two are seen as interrelated, although much is being written and said about giving attention to the future of education, and despite the awareness that the system's own future and security, including that of the system's economy, are bound up eventually with a well-prospering educational enterprise. However, industrial investments have immediate and tangible payoff value while the payoff of investments in education is not immediately evident. The pressures for economic investments are also greater, involving the immediate ability of Poland to compete on the international markets, to attract the infusion of hard currency, involving also the demands from Poland's trading partners within the East European bloc for her meeting certain economic obligations, responsibilities, and targets. Therefore, demands from educational interests as well as from service-oriented interests can be warded off, controlled, the realization of projects and plans related to education and services can be put off for some later date -- in the hope that perhaps the economic pressures will be lessened. In the meantime, while a school remains unbuilt perhaps the education-oriented interests will be placated and impressed by new steel mills and certainly by a general improvement in the economy. In this respect the situation in Poland is not unlike the situation in systems of a free enterprise economy: despite the long-range benefits inherent in education, short-range projects promising immediate profit find it easier to generate community support, and even within the educational structure, the aspects of education most intimately related to tangible economic utility (such as applied research, etc.) receive greater support priorities than educational projects whose relationship to the marketplace is less apparent at first glance. In Poland, for example, research institutes receive greater official support than university-based laboratories, and research scientists attached to industrial enterprises enjoy superior facilities and pay -- but less prestige, of course -- than scientists associated with either the universities or the institutes.

But to return to the problem of the physical setting for education on the lower levels in Poland: Because of the difficulty in realizing school building and repair plans, school authorities are faced annually with a situation where funds appropriated for this purpose cannot be used and must revert to the general fund of the appropriate agency of the National Council or the Ministry. They cannot be used, for example, for the purpose of improving teachers' salaries nor for educational supplies. In 1965 alone 581,000,000 złotys allocated for school construction projects remained unused for the purpose for which they were originally allocated because the schools and school construction -- despite the slogan "1,000 New Schools for the 1,000th Anniversary" -- remained at low priority in terms of the economy.[9] Thus, the principles of rational centralized planning underlying the political system notwithstanding, some plans -- such as those in the area of education -- are cancelled out by the hard facts of economic life which goes by rules all its own.

Ironically, when an independent entrepreneur in a locality in the neighborhood of Raszyn in Warsaw Województwo who has a building trade license and is engaged in disassembling dwellings came forth with the initiative to construct a new school structure in his community -- badly in need of one -- from the salvaged materials of the old houses he disassembles, his project met with administrative opposition. Finally, at the intervention of the editors of Kurier Polski, the organ of the Democratic Alliance (Stronnictwo Demokratyczne, SD), the Department of Education and Culture of the National Council in Piaseczno (the county seat) accepted his offer. The existing school building had no sanitary facilities whatsoever and was in a general state of collapse. But it still remained for the Administration of Apartment Buildings of Warsaw-Center to give its approval for the man to go ahead and use the salvaged material (from a building already destined for destruction) for the purpose he had in mind -- i.e., the construction of a new school.

But once a school is in existence and operative some economic enterprise in the neighborhood will take it under its patronage wing, collect funds among its personnel for special school projects and place its busses and trucks at the school's disposal so the students may enjoy an occasional excursion into the countryside.

Less dramatic than the lack of adequate school plants and facilities but no less annoying to the educator who feels frustrated in the process of performing his job and realizing the goals set for him, who feels left alone to his own devices, as it were, is the matter of scarcity and poor quality in instructional material. Little things, like the absence of pencils, chalk, notebooks, an adequate number of textbooks, of stencils, typewriters, paper, can drive a teacher up against a wall of despair. Geography teachers complained that regional maps had to be recalled because of faults and that although the situation has improved in recent years not every student is certain of owning his own world atlas, as required by the curriculum.

Up to the end of 1965, 2,282,000 new geographic atlasses were issued. Among these, 1,638,000 were designed for the fourth grade of elementary school, 450,000 for elementary grades six through eight, and 194,000 more advanced atlasses for use by _lycea_ students. In 1966, 200,000 atlasses for grade four were added, 450,000 for grades five through eight, 56,000 for _lycea_ use. In addition, the publication of 75,000 Polish geographic atlasses, 100,000 small historical atlasses and 30,000 atlasses illustrating the period of antiquity -- all for use in the _lycea_ -- were scheduled for 1966 and an atlas dealing with the history of Poland was scheduled to appear in 1967. Impressive as these figures are, however, they do not meet the needs of a growing school population. Consequently, during school year 1966-67 only every third student in Polish elementary schools could boast the possession of a required atlas all his own. On the secondary school level although the situation appeared to be less desperate than on the lower level of education it still was not good enough to assure every _lyceum_ student his own geographic atlas.

Similarly, although new sets of textbooks were to appear for the newly established eighth grades of the elementary schools, these did not come out in time nor were they issued in adequate numbers to fill the need and many schools had to resort to the utilization of dated textbooks, textbooks formally withdrawn from the market or textbooks designed for other grade levels.

In order to keep up with the changes brought about by the ongoing socio-political revolution as well as with changes in science and technology, old texts become rapidly obsolete and new ones are ordered for almost every school year. For example, for school year 1966-67 a new text in arithmetic was to make its appearance for elementary grade three as well as a new Polish language text for the same grade; a new nature study textbook (e.g., biology, botany, zoology) for grade four. The new sets for the new (eighth) elementary grades included textbooks in mathematics, Polish, Russian language, social studies (Man in Society). Secondary schools were to receive for 1966-67 a new Reader in Polish literature, a textbook on economic geography (for grade ten). Even the special schools for workers (evening schools) received new textbooks for school year 1966-67. In addition to the textbooks, new teaching aids were contemplated in citizenship education, mathematics, physics, history of Polish literature. Teachers' training programs also called for new texts and aids for that academic year.[10] Yet the publishing houses, the printers and the central distributing facilities cannot keep up with the demand, the constant changes, and the lag is often so extensive that, as one principal pointed out in an interview, by the time a "new" text appears it is already obsolete either because of changing knowledge in the field or because of a changing political situation. For example, until 1966 geography, history, and international affairs texts dealt rather sympathetically with the state of Israel. Reasons of historical circumstance and of deep emotional complexity contributed towards such attitude: Many of the Polish Jews (of a pre-war population of over 3,000,000) migrated to Israel where they joined the ranks of the economic, intellectual, and political elite; units of the Polish army which left the Soviet Union under the command of General

Anders were stationed in Palestine and some Polish soldiers and officers became involved in Jewish underground activities there and after the war (but prior to their own settlement abroad or repatriation to Poland) not a few even joined the illegal Jewish combatant units; many of the heroes of Israeli resistance received their military training in the Polish armed forces and many Polish officers felt a sense of professional pride in their Jewish colleagues' achievements in a new setting. Finally, there were always present elements of a complex hate-love relationship between Jews and ethnic Poles and the wholesale slaughter of the Jews in Poland instilled in many Poles, particularly among the intelligentsia, feelings of deeprooted shame and guilt which is strikingly evident in modern Polish literature and films. After the war and the establishment of the state of Israel, Israelis of Polish-Jewish background continued a lively intellectual interest in Polish events, particularly in Polish cultural developments and, in return, Poles followed developments in the new nation with interest. Israel was portrayed as a country with a strong socialist and labor movement, of successful collectivized farming, a country which "made the desert bloom," sympathetic to the People's Democracies and particularly towards Poland. Israeli artists visited Poland and Israeli musicians participated in international music festivals (Chopin and Wieniawski festivals) staged in Poland as well as in the annual jazz festival in the Baltic Sea resort of Sopot. As late as 1965, the Israeli pop singer Esther Reichstadt won acclaim at the Sopot jazz and pop festival by singing a Polish hit song. This flow of talent was not one-sided, however: for their part Polish writers, artists, actors, musicians, circus performers toured Israel where they usually were well received and Israel continued to be a source of much needed hard currency for Poland. Former soldiers of the Polish armed forces and former fighters of the Polish anti-Nazi underground -- Jews and presently citizens of Israel -- were bestowed with medals and orders by Polish authorities for their contribution to the past struggles while many Poles received medals from the Israeli government for their individual assistance to Jewish victims of Nazi persecution. On a mount in Jerusalem which houses the headquarters of Yad Vashem and a museum dedicated to Jewish martyrdom in World War II, the Avenue of the Righteous, commemorating non-Jews who helped Jews during Hitler's occupation bears many names of Christian Poles. However, all this relationship of almost intimate warmth came to an abrupt end in the summer of 1967 after Israel's surprise victory over the Arab states -- a victory condemned by the Soviet Union and its allies which sided with the Arabs in the conflict. As did the other People's Democracies (except Rumania) Poland, too, broke off diplomatic relationships with Israel and the state of confusion which ensued in public opinion as a result of such sudden reversal contributed to the disorders in Fall and Summer 1968 during which many protesters or persons suspect of some form of "disloyalty" -- students, academicians, scientists, writers, Party activists of Jewish descent, high officers of the armed forces, especially the Polish Air Force -- were accused of harboring "pro-Israeli" and "pro-Zionist" sympathies. And since Israel was pictured as an ally of "Western imperialism" which made its victory over the Arabs possible, pro-Israeli sympathies were quickly interpreted as being "pro-Western," "pro-capitalist" and, subsequently, "anti-socialist." As said, the reversal was so sudden that many Poles who normally are rather sensitive to the changing official line and can adjust their expression accordingly, this time found themselves rather confused. In his short story Korab writes:

> I noticed that the old, battered (lyceum) director looks at me as if I were a guest from another planet. Not only does he not understand me he generally does not understand what is happening around him -- a mad house with which he cannot keep up -- he does not understand us who do not agree with all this nor those others -- and all he knows is that one ought to maintain a positive attitude, keep abreast with the latest resolutions, decisions, circulars and orders. ... He was educated after World War I, loved social activism but worked in an entirely different language and could not grasp the language of modernity. He is decent, full of good will, benevolence, feels not fully worthy but tries to cover up such feelings with idle talk which brings out even more crassly his awkwardness and anachronism. I once had to kick him under the table when at a meeting of the Pedagogic Council he began to talk about a country which recently found itself in our press playing the role of the favorite punching bag. "Is it our fault" -- he mumbled -- "dear colleagues, that we manifested such lack in orientation? It is the fault of the press. Everyone knew that they made the desert bloom, and that these are brave people, decent people, civilized, that they build sea ports and agricultural colonies, that they read and think Polish, that they were saved from the holocaust, and suddenly -- overnight -- they are aggressors, occupiers, murderers. It all caught us by surprise, unprepared and to this, dear colleagues, one ought to contribute our astonishment, not to some anti-state feelings. How could we have known that what is happening somewhere on the banks of the Jordan is all that important to us -- this is, after all, not our affair and there is no threat to us from that side. But now, since the highest authority in the State explained it all to us -- but he took us somewhat by surprise, one must admit..." He spoke like that for half an hour and managed during that period to bestow so many compliments on the lepers that Dłubak hardly could remember them all. Dłubak is the name of the physical education teacher who is, in addition, also a co-worker in the notorious bureau.[11]

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The above illustrates a situation of a suddenly changing political line necessitating adjustment and the issuance of new textbooks dealing with or touching upon the problem. Not all changes are as traumatic in their social effects as that brought about by altered Polish-Israeli relations but every change, especially in the realm of politics, must be followed up with an appropriately adjusted set of school aids which burdens the printing and distribution facilities and involves an expenditure of scarce resources -- at a time when needed texts in standard subjects are in short supply inducing, as a result, difficulties with teachers as well as students. The letters-to-the editor columns of the popular Warsaw daily Życie Warszawy carried the following letter by a secondary school student, followed by her name and home telephone number:

> Dear little Życie Warszawy, help me! I am a student in a secondary medical school. I have enormous difficulties obtaining textbooks which I need for my studies. At the last test I received a "two"("dwójka")* in Latin. I urgently need the following texts:
>
> 1. Lingua Latina -- Latin for secondary medical schools;
> 2. Anatomia i Fizjologia człowieka (The Anatomy and Physiology of Men), edited by Wojciechowski -- State Institute of Medical Publications (Państwowy Zakład Wydawnictw Lekarskich);
> 3. Duży Atlas Gospodarczy Świata (The Great Economic Atlas of the World);
> 4. Duży Atlas Świata (The Great World Atlas).
>
> I thank you in advance for your assistance and hope it will bring the much needed results.
>
> Your grateful student...[12]

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*The Polish grading system is on a scale from 2 to 5. Number 2 connotes "inadequate" or "unsatisfactory" work, number 3 -- "adequate" or "satisfactory," number 4 -- "good," 5 -- "very good."

2. The Facilities' Inventory

At the "Unity Congress," that is, the grand conference called in 1948 to bring about a formal merger between the hitherto separate Polish Workers' Party (Polska Partia Robotnicza, PPR -- prewar Communists) and the Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna, PPS)-- the merger which resulted in the formation of the United Polish Workers' Party (Polska

Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza, PZPR) -- a resolution was adopted committing the major political forces of People's Poland to the achievement of the goal of universal education and of educational opportunities for all as a necessary precondition for the "creation of a socialist culture." In terms of providing the general population with the minimal tools of reading and writing great progress was indeed made, as Table 1 indicates. The high illiteracy among older persons (age 50 and over), mostly peasants, is a residue of conditions prevailing during the interwar period. The war prevented many a young person from obtaining even the bare minimum of an education. Yet the rate of illiteracy is still great, among Poles of middle age and older, and attempts are being made to improve the situation through evening courses for adults, Workers' Universities, culture circles in the villages, etc. Nevertheless, as was shown, in the process of obtaining an education and utilizing the educational opportunities available, the rural areas and economically poor provinces are being left behind much because a great deal of the responsibility for providing educational facilities is left to local initiative and resources, which are simply not up to the task either in terms of the local economy or because of lack of an appropriate cultural and educational tradition. As a consequence, higher educational opportunities and with it, better social and occupational opportunities, become -- as they always have been in Poland -- reserved to the citizens of the large metropolitan areas or to members of those social classes and groups which traditionally held education in high esteem. That is, the son of a peasant, for example, must simply try harder, show greater perseverence, dilligence, stubborness, and intelligence in order to achieve in education and through education the same benefits as fall to a son of city-based intelligentsia parents who has tried less hard, shown much less

Table 1

Illiteracy in Poland Among Persons Age Seven and Over: By Age and Sex*

		Total Number		Age (in percentages)				
Sex	Year	Number	Percentage of Illiteracy in Relation to Total Population Age Seven and Over	7-13	14-17	18-24	25-49	50 and Over
TOTAL	1921	7,552,900	34.6	24.7	8.8	10.4	30.7	25.4
	1931	5,945,900	22.6	9.3	6.9	9.2	39.0	35.6
	1950	1,144,600	5.5	3.6	1.9	3.8	22.3	68.4
	1960	664,000	2.7	1.2	.7	1.4	12.9	83.8
Male	1921	3,291,700	32.0	28.5	9.5	8.6	27.5	25.9
	1931	2,229,500	17.7	11.7	7.2	9.3	35.3	36.5
	1950	405,400	4.2	5.2	3.2	5.7	25.2	60.7
	1960	215,400	1.9	1.9	1.2	2.3	16.5	78.1
Female	1921	4,261,200	37.0	21.8	8.2	11.8	33.2	25.0
	1931	3,716,400	27.1	7.8	6.7	9.1	41.3	35.1
	1950	739,200	6.6	2.8	1.2	2.7	20.6	72.7
	1960	448,600	3.5	.8	.5	1.0	11.2	86.5

*Source: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Rocznik Statystyczny: 1966 (Warsaw: GUS, Vol. XXVI, 1966), p. 34.

perseverence and dilligence, and whose tests indicate a lower intelligence level. Thus, while educational opportunities have become more available and more widespread than they were before the establishment of People's Poland, as well as more "democratized" inasmuch as they do not by legal and/or constitutional devices or through political decisions discriminate against certain groups of the population (as they did against ethnic and religious minorities during the interwar period), the educational opportunities still remain far from being equally distributed because much within the system, the manner in which it functions, and much within the cultural tradition and heritage is stacked against those in the provinces and rural areas. A closer examination of the data contained in Table 1 shows that actually the regime of pre-war "feudal-bourgeois" and "aristocratic" Poland was already on the way towards liquidating illiteracy through its system -- however laxly enforced -- of compulsory elementary education. Established as an independent state in 1918, it had to cope with the effects of World War I and long years of foreign domination (that of Czarist Russia, Prussia, and Austro-Hungary) -- a period during which rural Poland was treated, especially by the Czarist administration, in the manner of an educational stepchild. It took a long time and much effort to overcome that heritage and especially the educational devastation wrought by World War I and occupation. Similarly, at the present, over twenty years after the end of World War II, the effect of that experience is still visible and one of the reminders of the war is the state of education and illiteracy among certain age groups.

Between 1945, the end of the war, and 1963, 94 schools were opened in the towns of Warsaw Województwo (not including the schools within the capital city itself) and 1,244 schools were put in operation within the villages of that *Województwo*. Of these, 954 schools were located in new buildings since the old ones were destroyed either by age or war damage. Within the same Warsaw region (outside of Warsaw proper), the number of secondary schools of general education has more than doubled since 1937-38 -- from 32 to 66. But at the same time the *number of students in the secondary schools within the region has increased twentyfold. While still restricted, secondary education has lost the elitist and distinct class character it had under the preceding system but at the same time the changing conditions have brought crowded classrooms and a lowering in the quality of education*. The limited number of secondary school teachers, especially in the provinces, simply cannot afford their students the same individualized attention as did their predecessors in the small elitist secondary classroom before World War II.

However, while the student population in the secondary schools of general education (the *lycea*)has increased twentyfold -- much because of the *variety* of opportunities open to general education *lycea* graduates and because of the traditional elitist stamp borne by these schools -- the vocational school population has increased less than eightfold: from 7,000 during 1937-38 to 50,000 in 1965. The comparatively lower increase in the vocational school population took place despite exhortation to the youth to become trade-oriented, to think in terms of future employment possibilities and incentives and to try to adjust their training to the needs of the economy, in the face of industrial and technological expansion and the stress on the new values of an industrial culture, and, finally, despite the fact that by 1962-63 the authorities had put into operation in Warsaw *Województwo* 107 basic vocational schools and 96 *technikums* and vocational secondary schools in order to back up the "vocational push".[13] Thus, as in other areas, here too the plans and designs of the political system met head-on with ingrained cultural and community values and norms, and, ultimately, had to give way to the latter.

Interestingly, although Warsaw *Województwo* contains within its geographic boundaries the capital of the country, Warsaw (which has *województwo* status within its own rights), the cultural, economic and political center of the nation, it is economically among the poorest and least developing and prospering, especially on its Eastern frontiers. County (*powiat*) seats, towns such as Garwolin, Łosice, Minsk Mazowiecki, Siedlce, Sokołow Podlaski, Węgrów and Wyszków haven't changed much in physical appearance or economic base from what they were during the interwar period although new houses replaced those destroyed in World War II and although they are presently minus the Jewish population which prior to the war constituted a substantial portion of these towns and lent them their specific character. However, the relative poverty of the communities of Warsaw *Województwo* is reflected in the area's comparatively lower secondary school population and plant. They lack the type of publicly operated enterprises which would enable the community to invest substantially in education. For example, while the country as a whole has a ratio of 51 secondary school students of *all* types (general education and vocational) per 1,000 population, the ratio for Warsaw *Województwo* is only 33.6 per thousand. Similarly, the general number of children and youth in schools of all types is below the national average. Yet, the communities in this region are within easy proximity of Warsaw, and Polish sociologists (e.g., Jerzy Wiatr and Jaroszewski) and planners have often pinned their hope on the influence of urbanization in upgrading cultural and educational levels. Apparently the cultural and educational pull of the capital, Warsaw, has limits to its impact on the provincial towns themselves. Precisely the reverse is happening: because of the proximity of the Big City, the most talented, gifted, and ambitious among the provincial youth drift into Warsaw proper, leaving the provincial towns to stagnate. Other towns within Warsaw Województwo -- Płock in the West and Ostrołęka to the North -- are undergoing an educational boom, much because these towns were designated as localities of urban expansion and new industries were located there. Płock, for example, which had suffered little damage during the last war became an oil refinery center and the Polish "petrochemical capital," distinctly industrial with a rich agricultural area surrounding the town, employing peasants from the countryside on a part- or full-time basis in the refineries and plants. Ostrołęka, on the other hand, became the site in the late 1950s of the largest paper mill in Poland. Therefore, rather than urbanization as such it is industrialization which seems to give an immediate and direct impetus to educational zeal.

One would think that the relationship between industrialization and education is due to the emergence of new employment possibilities and the utilization of acquired skills on the economic marketplace and the needs of an expanding profit-making industry. No doubt such factors greatly affect the educational picture. However, alongside the lure of industrial employment is the pull of tradition, traditional values and prestige models, and, consequently, of traditional educational orientations. Thus, even in Płock and Ostrołęka the secondary schools of general education receive more applicants for admission than vocational schools of similar level and more prospective students are turned away from the former than from the latter. And in the country as a whole, at the end of the 1965-66 school year there were 60,000 graduates from secondary vocational technikums as compared to 80,400 graduates of secondary schools of general education. Since entrance into general education lycea is more difficult to begin with than admission to the vocational school system, there were, to be sure, in addition to the 60,000 technikum graduates (that is, among the vocational schools the closest in level to the general education lycea), others who graduated from vocation-oriented secondary institutions: 38,000 graduates from agricultural schools, for example, as well as 21,000 graduates from pedagogic lycea. The bulk of vocational students graduating that year were from night schools for workers (167,000) who come to upgrade their job qualifications. Nevertheless, among the regular student population, despite the entrance difficulties encountered, graduates of secondary schools of general education outnumbered the graduates of industry-oriented vocational schools by 20,400 although the latter were assured of immediate absorption into the employment market while the former, if unable to enter into institutions of higher learning, were facing a rather bleak employment future. The organ of the Polish Teachers' Union, Głos Nauczycielski, estimated that of the 1966 crop of secondary school graduates of general education only 27,000 will be admitted to higher education, 28,000 will enter various post-matura schools, 10,000 will seek clerical or other low-skill white collar employment, and 15,000 will commence upon some vocational education, learning a trade but with some years delay than had they chosen entrance into the secondary vocational system immediately upon graduation from elementary school. This latter category, the paper estimated, will consist mostly of female matura-holders.[14]

But the economic lesson, as it were, has hardly an effect on popular educational choices. That same year, 1966, when 656,000 pupils of elementary school graduated from seventh grade and faced the choice of going on to eighth grade -- and hopefully to a lyceum of general education afterwards -- or, alternatively, leaving elementary school at that point (saving at least one year education for most of them) and transferring to a secondary vocational school, only 39.5 percent opted for that alternative while 60.5 percent decided to remain for the eighth grade, and to hope.

3. The Test of Knowledge and Value Assimilation.

The content of some course offerings has changed and, in some instances, where the content has remained substantially unaltered, the subject has received new designation. Most of the changes were brought about by the School Reform which formally went into force at the beginning of academic school year 1967-68. In addition to changes in titles, textbooks, supplemental aids, etc. -- in some cases the changes also involved revisions in the number of hours a week a particular course is taught. Thus, "citizenship," to be offered in the last (fourth) grade of the new general education lyceum, was given three hours per week classroom time; "military preparedness" (przysposobienie wojskowe, PW) was officially renamed "defense preparedness" (przysposobienie obronne, PO). The Reform introduced vocationally oriented courses into the hitherto humanistically and classically oriented curriculum of the lycea of general education and these were grouped together under the heading of "technical education." Physics and astronomy which, prior to the Reform, were subjects taught jointly by the same teacher were separated from one another. Foreign language training was given renewed emphasis and additional classroom hours. Since the Reform officially (but not always implemented in practice, as was seen) added an eighth grade to the elementary school structure, the previous grade II of the general education lyceum became in September, 1967, grade I, and, consequently, military preparedness (or defense preparedness) training which, prior to the Reform, was offered to grades II-IV of the secondary schools was to be given to grades I-III. While the formal classroom offerings in some subjects were increased in terms of hours, others underwent a decrease in the number of hours, and in the last year of secondary general education greater emphasis has been placed on the student's independent study and self-education. The latter was decided upon both for didactic and pedagogic purposes, as well as for the purpose of elevating the shortage of qualified instructional personnel and inadequacy in physical facilities. Classroom hours were increased in personal hygiene and the nature of that subject was altered with greater emphasis given to mental health. Sex education and problems related to time budgeting and the rational organization of personal work patterns were included in the general courses on hygiene.[15] The original intention was not to alter the total hours per week required for each lyceum grade but, as a result of the various curriculum changes brought about by the Reform, some adjustments in the total hour requirements had to take place. Thus, the required total classroom hours for the first grade of the secondary school general education was set as 34, second grade also 34, 33 hours a week for the third grade, and 30 hours for the fourth.

In addition to periodic examinations, visitations from the Kuratorium and inspectorate, in addition to the final matura examination, annual community-wide, regional and national "knowledge competitions" take place amidst a festive atmosphere. These competitions called "Educational

Olympiads" or Disce puer were first instituted in 1958 and involve subjects commonly taught in the various types of secondary schools during the first half of the school year at the tenth grade level (or second grade level of the reformed secondary school of general education, fourth grade of the pedagogic lycea and vocational technikums). This limits the subject-competitions generally to Polish language and literature, Russian language and literature, and mathematics. In addition general education secondary school students compete in physics and chemistry, pedagogic lycea students in chemistry and a subject drawn from their specialized curriculum, technikum students compete in two vocational subjects designated at the last minute by a special Commission.

The final test of their knowledge, however, and the most traumatic experience for the students takes place in the month of May of the last year of their secondary education. For the student of the general education lyceum, passing this final series of tests means obtaining the much cherished "certificate of maturity," the matura which not only provides one with the key to possible entrance into institutions of higher learning and an esteemed white-collar job but, if the student is a male, service in the armed forces with the rank of officer rather than private. In the pre-war years possession of a matura was the mark of social status and entitled the holder to vote for and be elected to the upper chamber of parliament, the Senate (election to which precisely because of this and similar restrictions the opposition parties boycotted). The gentleman-officer of the pre-World War II army was prohibited by military code from taking a spouse who lacked that official certification of education and good breeding. To the youngster of upper middleclass or upperclass background the day he received the matura meant traditionally that from this point he would be treated as an adult -- that he may smoke in public, enjoy his vodka without being secretive about it, become engaged, frequent night clubs, etc. This tradition still prevails and the male student, once in possession of the matura, is often addressed for the first time as "Mr." (pan).

Because so much hinges upon passing the matura examinations, parents of means engage special tutors for their offspring, usually needy university students or moonlighting teachers of secondary school level. Polish television features special remedial and matura-preparation classes throughout the year but, as Professor Janusz Tymowski who serves as a special television consultant to the Ministry of Higher Education maintains, students avoid viewing these television offerings until about the last two weeks preceding the matura examinations.[16] For those who cannot afford private tutorial services, special pre-matura "cramming" courses have sprung up in recent years. These courses apparently developed quite spontaneously, through private initiative, without any control from official educational authorities, and, consequently, there is much discussion in the general and specialized press as to their utility and their pedagogic as well as social effects. These courses have given rise to a virtual pre-matura educational "black market" with various sponsors vying with each other for clients and competing as to prices charged for this service.

In 1966, 140,000 secondary school students were ready to take the matura examinations. They began on May 20 in all parts of the country except in the Poznań region where the initial tests were administered on May 16 and 17. The procedures for administering and taking the examinations were spelled out in detail in special regulations issued in 1965. They involved both written and oral tests. During the first examination day the students are required to take the written Polish language and literature tests and on the second day the written tests in mathematics. Then follows a pause of several days at the end of which the results of the written tests are made known and those who qualify (that is, those who have passed the first examination phase satisfactorily) proceed to take the oral examinations. The results of the oral examinations are made known on the same day as they are taken. The same procedure is repeated with respect to the other subjects in which the student is examined and, usually, the last and final test takes place on June 10 -- a total examination period of twenty or more days.

Special examination commissions are appointed annually and, in addition to the regulations of 1965, new directives are issued almost every year at the beginning of the examination period. The aim of these new directives is to acquaint the commission members with their task and to ensure that the normal school operation not be interrupted during the period. In 1966 the directives stipulated that only one oral examination be given in a day and that the final results be made known without undue delay so as to alleviate the anxiety of students and parents. And there is considerable anxiety, obviously, during the prolonged examination period with frequent reports of nervous breakdowns and suicide attempts among students.

This author was given access to some written examination questions and completed tests in several regions of the country. It appears that although the language of the questions differ from school district to school district, substance is essentially the same since they are drawn from the same standard texts and curriculum. In the field of Polish language and literature the students were given a choice in the written examinations from among three basic themes. A subsequent reading of the examinations reveals that (a) the students generally prefer to stick to subjects covered in the texts or previously handled in class and to treat the question in standard fashion -- that is, not to deviate from the treatment given the subject by the textbook author; (b) they prefer specific questions to questions of general-theoretical and speculative character since the former make it easier for them to answer in specific terms, to pour out what they have previously learned or memorized; (c) they avoid the choice of themes which would involve them in ideological discussion or the necessity to express an individual position; (d) they avoid passing judgment and skirted the question which asked their opinion "Which period in Polish literature, in your judgment, was the most creative both in terms of productivity and historical impact?"; (e) avoid themes which would reflect individual initiative in the selection of reading matter.

In the Poznań school district the written examination questions in Polish language and literature read as follows:

1. Prove on the basis of freely chosen literary examples that the literature of People's Poland continues indeed the progressive tradition of the Polish Millenium;
2. On the basis of which values, as manifested in his writings, did Henryk Sienkiewicz endear himself to all Poles?;
3. Which of the contemporary novels you have read on your own would you consider most outstanding and why?

The students examined in the Poznań school district overwhelmingly chose to respond to the second question since,obviously,it required a more specific and standard answer, was non-controversial inasmuch as it dealt with a classic Polish writer who is acceptable because of his exposition of patriotic values and virtues to all factions of the political spectrum and because his works had a definite anti-Prussian and pro-Slavic orientation. Suspect by literary critics of the radical Left prior to World War II as a nationalist, Sienkiewicz became a symbol of "Polonism" and "Polishness," of national unity, and thus is acceptable to the Left presently in power and vitally interested in the propagation of values of patriotism and loyalty.

The students in the Katowice school district were faced with the following questions during the written examination in Polish language and literature;

1. In your opinion, which literary period of the thousand year long Polish history has contributed most vitally to the life of our nation and why?
2. What lasting values could contemporary youth discern in the ideological posture of the heroes of Polish romantic literature?
3. To what extent did the literature dealing with World War II and the period of occupation enable you to answer the question -- what is more worthy in men, the saving of one's own life or that of human dignity?

The students in Katowice -- 47 out of 101 taking the test in one school -- preferred to answer the first question and in their responses most of them cited the works by Henryk Sienkiewicz. In the Opole district the most favored examination question read very much like the most favored question in Katowice, to wit: "Which literary period in our thousand year history is the closest to your heart and do you value the most? With which works of that period do you feel most intimately related?"

In the Łódź school district a total of 5,500 secondary general education school graduates took the matura examinations in 1966 and among the three choices the question which was favored, by a slight margin, read as follows: "How is the struggle of Poles against German aggression and brutality in the course of our thousand year long history portrayed in the literature of the XIX and XX Century?" And, again, the most specific references dealt with the works of Sienkiewicz.

In the Rzeszów school district the three choices were:

1. What was the significance of Sienkiewicz to the Polish society of his times and what elements of his work have played a decisive role in determining his lasting position in our literature?
2. What contribution was made by the writers of the period of Renaissance and Enlightenment towards the development of secular culture in Poland?
3. Professor Sonnenbruch and Antoni Kossecki faced the Court charged with crimes against humanity -- state the charges and attempt a defense.

As could be expected by now, most responses were to question No. 1.

The above questions and responses point to a rather limited range of literary knowledge and interest. The constant references to the "thousand year history" were explained and justified since 1966 happened to be the year of the Millenium celebrations. It also marked the 50th anniversary of the death of Henryk Sienkiewicz. One Kuratorium official, however, tried to put the blame for the limited literary knowledge and interests of the matura students on the rather restricted range of readings to which they are exposed in the course of their lyceum studies. In an in-depth interview he said:

> You cannot really blame the students although the natural tendency is, of course, to put the blame on their shoulders. Take, for example, the textbook from which they are taught. It is titled Contemporary Literature (Literatura współczesna). You open the chapter dealing with the literature of People's Poland and what do you get, really? Only snatches of selections chosen for no apparent reason, a little bit of this and a little bit of that. Some of our most prominent writers, such as Iwaszkiewicz, Jastruń, Przyboś, Różewicz, Putrament, Czeszko, Brandys, Breza, Słonimski are represented by fragments without explanations.

Q. What about foreign literature?

A. Well, open the chapter entitled "Foreign Literature." You have there again only profiles: a little bit from Mayakovsky, a little bit from Yesenin, Svetlov, and from contemporary Western literature a little bit from Apollinaire, Paul Eluard, Louis Aragon, Bertolt Brecht, and that's all -- all writers more or less of the Left. Not a word about or from Hemingway, Steinbeck or Sartre. When I visit a literature class in a school I can sense the sterility although the teacher usually tries hard to make a good impression. It is normally easy for them to deal with excerpts of literary works, including excerpts from novels -- contemporary novels such as those by Andrzejewski -- assigned outside of the official text.

Q. Would this be the only explanation why students tend to pick the kind of topics they did?

A. Hell, no. The questions invited stereotyped responses. And you know what? I took my own matura examinations one year before the war, in 1938, and the questions asked now -- except for slight variations -- do not differ from the type of questions asked then. What we are dealing with here is tradition and educational inertia. There is a whole set of unchanging standard type questions, a steady repertoire: the origins of Polish literature, the works of specific classic authors, romantic literature and, of course, Mickiewicz's "Ode to Youth" (Oda do młodości), something about contemporary literature.

Q. You would say then that the difficulties begin in the classroom, with the curriculum?

A. Definitely. There is fear of innovation and this is so on all levels of the structure. Some among us are not too certain as to the validity of innovative ideas and are afraid to experiment. The student can go through lyceum, pass all his examinations and never have read anything by such contemporary poets as Tuwim or Broniewski although they happen to be otherwise very popular. Partially it is because we are trying to fit too much diversity into a limited program schedule and we must leave out the treatment in depth of many worthwhile areas. I could, if I want, defend the results although it pains me personally. The student faced with required readings has little time left for independent exploration. Personally, I believe that we have placed too much emphasis already on the so-called wartime literature. We are now in the end of the second decade of socialist construction and we have an appropriate literature but precious little of it has sifted down to the classroom.

Sentiments similar to the above were expressed by various other persons in the course of in-depth interviews, as well as in commentaries appearing periodically in the press, especially in literary journals. But both teachers and school administrators seem reluctant to exercise bold initiative, to engage in innovative experiments, and, consequently, they often feel caught in a web of rules, regulations, educational tradition and let it go at that, taking the path of least resistance. One senses a fear, an uncertainty related to attempts to break out and away from the established pattern. As a result, much in the curriculum remains unchanged despite formal reform measures which aim at the general and administrative-organizational alterations of the educational structure but which seldom challenge the specific in the educational process -- although it is the specific, that which is actually taught in the classroom, which supposedly is to have a lasting effect. What we encounter here is *another of the many vicious cycles: many recognize the need for substantive curriculum revisions, many realize that from the point of view of the system such revisions must be made but, at the same time, it seems as if the system itself inhibits attempts towards change, innovation, and bold experimentation*.

Some observers blame the sterility, as it were, of the secondary general education school curriculum on the lack of close, intimate contacts between the institutions of higher learning and those working in the secondary school system. Unless specifically invited or approached a university professor would scarcely think of visiting a secondary school or talking on a basis of equality with a secondary school teacher. Before World War II many young academicians in the large metropolitan centers, brilliant young university "docents" and assistants who were, however, of the "wrong" ethnic, religious or social background and thus had limited chances for advancement within the then existing academic structure -- persons such as the later renowned mathematician Tarski or the physicist Infeld -- were forced to seek supplementary employment in secondary schools, but by so doing they served as a direct link between the intellectual environment of the universities and the hardworking secondary school teachers. There are no similar links at the present and, moreover, there is a rule -- selectively applied to be sure -- against the maintenance by a single individual of parallel employment positions.

Caught in such working conditions and circumstances, 5.0 percent of secondary general education teachers with university education -- and, thus, the most qualified -- resigned from their posts within the last few years. They are aided in their decisions by the remuneration system which allows teachers in vocational schools a monetary premium of somewhere between 10 and 15 percent above the base salary for rank and tenure but denies the same to those working in the more prestigious general education *lycea*. Reacting to the ongoing press discussion on educational problems, one reader was led to write:

> In our school system a new learning program is often being introduced only to discover later that there is no one capable of undertaking that program's realization.[17]

The gap between educational plans and their realization is, in part, due to a strict division of labor which separates the planner from the program's executor -- that is, the working classroom teacher. As one secondary school teacher said in an interview:

The educational authorities tend to ignore the opinions and suggestions of practicing, working teachers. The teacher is faced with programs and curricula changes in the shaping of which he had no part. The general press is usually poorly informed about educational problems or approaches these rather reluctantly.

Q. What about the teachers themselves?

A. Within the Teachers' Union there is some discussion and one frequently can hear complaints. One can also read about it in the educational press. The problem is that much of the debate takes place on a very specialized plane and in an obscure professional jargon and thus leaves the general public cold.

Q. How would you explain then the public discussion following the matura examinations?

A. Such discussion takes place almost every year at this time. Following matura examinations many people on the educational sidelines suddenly discover what everybody actively engaged in teaching has known all along. That is, the examination topics and questions are ill chosen, and the way they are phrased and formulated invite superficial and shallow responses. Our youth simply is unfamiliar with the basic facts of our own literary history, is ignorant of contemporary literature -- oh, you come across some student now and then who has a lively, natural interest of his own and not infrequently such interest will be stifled by the weight of the existing curriculum requirements. Usually, students are not trained to think independently, for themselves. In addition, in the provincial schools there is "provincialism" in language, style, and they don't know how to spell.

Q. Isn't this the usual complaint, heard from every generation of educators, everywhere?

A. I don't know. One would expect from a secondary school student some ability for independent thinking, an ability to draw conclusions, handle effectively a variety of opposing opinions. We traditionally abhor cramming, memorization. We stress intelligence and condemn what we popularly call "kujonie," hammering in. However, what this results in is that the student gets the idea that one does not necessarily have to read a particular novel in order to be able to bluff about it, that glittering phrases somehow can take the place of daily hard work and application. The examination questions themselves, as you have seen, invite phrases, empty phrases rather than a show of honest, earnest learning and knowledge. I think that the examinations favor the weakest and most shallow among the students but do not do

> justice to the good students and their teachers. And, of course, it is the complaints from the weak students that you hear most frequently. As a teacher of Polish literature I feel terrible about it all.

Many complain of a lack of "solid" preparation, a lack of good study habits and industry among the members of the present generation of secondary school students. Some observers even draw the perhaps exaggerated conclusion that "*matura* holders display in their entrance examinations to institutions of higher learning an inability to handle problems -- an inability unworthy even of a good elementary school student."[18]

The tendency among the young to avoid topics dealing with the current scene, modern history, or ideology may be a reaction to the "overdose" they receive of these topics. That is, *the continuous flow of ideological strictures, of patriotic speeches, narratives of war, suffering and heroism turns counter-productive in its effects on the audience for whom designed*, the youth. A young girl from Zakopane complained to the editors of *Polityka* shortly after having taken and passed her *matura* examinations:

> To judge by the program, what is a secondary school student expected to know from contemporary literature? He is expected to know *Ashes and Diamonds* (*Popiół i diament*), *The Germans* (*Niemców*), *Medallions* (*Medaliony*) and a few other works dealing with the war...
>
> Let's have a glance at contemporary Polish literature. The literature written after the war is concerned overwhelmingly with the war and war-related human experiences. ... Even young writers write about the war. Why?[19]

The answer to the question "Why" rests, of course, with the quality of the particular experience. The war has left lasting, overpowering impressions and effects on all those who have gone through it, however young they were at the time, and there is a constant inner need to refer to that experience. To those who lived through the war, the years 1939-1945 are still fresh in their memories but to the secondary student of the second half of the 1960s, born after the war's end, those years are "old hat" and boring if referred to over and over again. They simply show fatigue from over-exposure to war-related literature, films, speeches, memoirs, celebrations, commemorations, and the like. Consequently, the young may feel a need to retreat, escape into the less gory, less complicated, more tranquil and romantic times -- despite their own quota of battles and bloodshed -- of the heroes populating Sienkiewicz's swashbuckling novels. But it is not only escape into the literature of a more distant past that they seek. Col. Janusz Przymanowski complained that the average young Pole sometimes knows more of the history of antiquity than he does of his own nation's recent past, that they are more interested in the events which took place on the shores of the Mediterranean many centuries back (events such as portrayed in Sienkiewicz's famous Quo Vadis?) than they are in the events which happened not so long ago along the shores of the Baltic Sea.[20]

And, indeed, this writer has spoken to many secondary school students who have visited Oświęcim (Auschwitz), the infamous concentration and extermination camp, usually on school or youth organization sponsored excursions (which if originating from Warsaw, for example, also included visits to the more pleasant historical sites of Cracow-Kraków and the giant salt mines of Wieliczka) but have never heard of Treblinka, the death camp within easy reach of the capital city. In fact, many of the students showed annoyance and impatience when questioned about Treblinka and the other former camp sites dotting the Polish landscape.

It would almost appear as if, to many of the current crop of secondary school students, the history of Poland began only with the establishment of the present political system, the emergence of People's Poland.

In a gathering of graduating lyceum students with this author only two (out of twenty present) indicated any significant knowledge of the history of pre-World War II Poland. One of the two had returned only relatively recently with his family from exile in the West and the other indicated a family history of close ties with the pre-war regime (i.e., the father was a colonel in the pre-war army who was killed during the last war serving in the London directed underground army, the Armia Krajowa, AK; the mother served a jail sentence during the Stalinist period). When questioned the group of students also betrayed an ignorance of the history of the Polish labor movement, the socialist movement, or that of Polish communism. Although the Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna, PPS) constituted one of the two major components establishing the present dominant United Workers' Party at the Unity Congress of 1948, none of the twenty students present ever heard of the PPS and did not know that Józef Cyrankiewicz, the long-time Prime Minister, was one of the pre-war leaders of that Party. Nor did they hear of the pre-war cooperative housing developments in the Żoliborz suburb of Warsaw, established by the socialists and named after the writer Stefan Żeromski's visionary novel, "Glass Houses." Similarly, names of pre-war Communist Party leaders drew blanks as did other details of the history of the pre-war Polish Communist Party.

As indicated, the Educational Reform formally introduced in 1966 has broadened the offerings in mathematics, physics, biology and has given special emphasis to "polytechnization." Under the new Reform programs the students, especially of senior secondary school grades, were to be given greater initiative for individual study. Younger grade students were to be relieved from the hitherto heavy burden of homework and become involved in group projects under the guidance of a teacher. However, often the students were given tasks to solve without being told how to solve them nor the underlying theoretical principles of a given assignment. Although teachers were rarely consulted in drawing up the new curriculum plans nor are teachers, as we have seen, too anxious to introduce experiments and innovations of their own, the quality of the work in the classroom often depends precisely on the teacher's willingness to use imagination, initiative, or simply extra effort. However, many teachers in their enthusiasm to prove successful implementation of "polytechniczation" and the introduction of vocationally-oriented courses in schools of general education, assigned to the students work projects which the latter found hard to complete on their own. As a result, some parents of means turned to professional help so that their daughters may produce the expected assignments on time: needlework, sweaters, skirts, and dresses. The final product of these projects turned out to be of such high quality that the Kuratorium in Lublin arranged a permanent exhibit of what it assumed to be the students' own accomplishments in the area of vocational education.[21] Parents whose sons and daughters had more traditionally oriented teachers or teachers less eager to meet the goals of "polytechnization" found the school year less expensive but their children's names were not featured as exhibitors at the Kuratorium display.

Despite the emphasis on physical sciences and mathematics, the final examination results in these fields turned out to be far from satisfactory. In fact, according to knowledgeable informants, the lowest examination scores were obtained in such subjects as physics, chemistry, and mathematics. In one oral examination in chemistry it developed upon questioning that students did not know that such symbols as "alpha" and "beta," for example, were derived from the Greek alphabet.

In a prize-winning book on citizenship and modern warfare (Konfrontacje: Tradycjonalizm a współczesność w wychowaniu wojskowym), army Majors Marian Jurek and Edward Skrzypkowski join in the complaint frequently heard from educators concerned with "character education" that "the street" rather than the school exercises a greater impact on the formation of youth character:

> They impress one another with desires which are shockingly private in nature. They emulate models and life styles which are related to the consumption of material goods; they want money, a car, clothing, a place of their own. A "regular fellow" is one who can impress his peers with a new pair of shoes and a new tie... especially those within the age group of 14-18, students of secondary schools, and especially those attending lycea of general education.[22]

At the height of the celebrations commemorating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Polish People's Army -- that is, at a time when the exploits of the army were extolled and publicized -- a research team sponsored by the Public Opinion Research Center of Polish Radio found, after administering a questionnaire (in 1963) to a national sample of young matura holders, that they rate the significance of the battle at Monte Cassino in Italy over and above the participation of the Polish Army, alongside that of the Soviet Army, in the capture of Berlin. From the system's point of view the latter is, of course, by far more important than the former since it underlines the historical and political meaning of the battles and victories on the Eastern Front, the alliance with the Soviet Union -- factors which led to the eventual establishment of People's Poland and of the "People's Democracy." On the other hand, the Polish army units engaged in the capture of the monastery atop Monte Cassino were under the command of the Polish Government-in-Exile in London which fought alongside the Western allies. It is only recently that the exploits of Polish troops fighting in the West (e.g., in the air defense of Great Britain, at Tobruk, in the suburbs of Falaise, etc.) as well as the exploits of the London-directed underground Home Army (Armia Krajowa) are given honorable mention -- in an effort to stress all-national values and symbols, in an attempt to unify the nation around the system by portraying that system as being the heir and continuator of what is "best" in the nation's past -- and it is only recently that the 1944 battle of Monte Cassino which opened the road to Rome has received homage in articles and song. But in 1963, at the time when the survey mentioned was conducted, strong emphasis was still given primarily to the Polish People's Army which was formed on Soviet soil in 1943 and which fought in the battles of Lenino, the Warsaw suburb of Praga, the crossing of the Nysa River, the Pomeranian Line as well as Berlin. And, instead of emphasizing the activities of the AK -- which continued illegally for some time after People's Poland was established -- official stress was given to the activities of the Left-wing underground forces, and primarily those of the AL (The People's Army, Armia Ludowa). The choice of Monte Cassino over Berlin is therefore of enormous significance -- yet, in 1963, 60.7 percent of the matura holders gave greater importance to the former and only 14.8 percent thought that the capture of the German capital was of greater importance in the history of Polish warfare. Similarly, when the respondents were asked to rate the importance of various Polish combat heroes, most, while choosing the most celebrated military figure of the Polish People's Army, the late General Karol Świerczewski ("Walter") -- a man who fought in the Spanish Civil War, headed the Second Army of the Soviet-based Polish forces, was killed in ambush in 1945, and after whom presently many schools and a major street is named in almost every Polish town and city -- could not name a single other military personage, living or dead, of current Polish history. Instead, following the name of General Świerczewski, the respondents mentioned fighting men of Poland's distant past or fictional heroes from Henryk Sienkiewicz's historical novels, e.g., Zbyszko from Bogdaniec, Wołodyjowski, Skrzetuski, etc.[23] Lest, however, the high rating given the battle of Monte Cassino should be interpreted as an expression of a political view among the secondary school graduates in favor of the pre-war regime or that of the Government-in-Exile, others (as Col. Janusz Przymanowski, for example) bemoan the ignorance displayed by modern youth about the exploits of the Polish armed forces in the West (outside of the battle of Monte Cassino) or about the battles marking the "campaign" of September, 1939 (except for the defense of Westerplatte, the Hel peninsula, the battle on the Bzura River or the defense of Warsaw). The names of military commanders who have distinguished themselves in the battles of September, 1939, and in official current accounts are not made to shoulder the blame for the defeat and disaster -- a blame laid exclusively at the feet of the ruling "Colonels' Clique," the then Marshal Ridz-Śmigły, and the whole feudal-bourgeois class structure of pre-war society and its friends in the West -- names of such recognized military heroes as Generals Tadeusz Kutrzeba, Czuma, Antoni Szylling, Unrug, Bortnowski, and others, are completely unknown to the young.[24] Nor are they familiar with the exploits of the underground forces other than those of the People's Army, the People's Guard (socialists), the Peasant Battalions (Peasants' Alliance); only a few acts by the Home Army -- as, for example, the assassination of SS General Kutschera -- have received the publicity given the activities of the Left-dominated groups. And prior to 1956, during the long Stalinist period, the Home Army (AK) was scarcely mentioned officially in any favorable connection. The courses in civics and defense preparedness (formerly known as military preparedness) are supposed to fill the gap in the store of "patriotic" knowledge of the secondary school student of general education. Similarly the stress on polytechnization is supposed to provide such students with some skills and a general appreciation for the values of labor. However, Majors Jurek and Skrzypkowski agree with the statement they cite from *Człowiek a technika wojenna* (*Man and the Technique of Warfare*) co-authored by T. Nowacki and T. Pióro and published in Warsaw in 1964:

> We could not in all honesty and with a full sense of responsibility entrust to the graduate of today's secondary school even the *smallest line of defense*. These graduates, equipped as they are with theoretical knowledge, are incapable of building even the most primitive things ... We would even doubt their capability of erecting a decent pigstall.[25]

The student of the secondary school of general education may not have learned how to erect a pigstall but neither is his skill in this direction tested when he comes up for his *matura*. However, many fail in the areas in which they are tested and most failures occur in the exact and physical sciences. Failure even in a single subject disqualifies a student from the *matura*. However, he may request a "make-up" examination in the area in which he did not pass the first time and any such re-examination *must* take place within a three-year period following regular school attendance. The student who failed in his attempt to obtain a *matura* the first time may opt for one more year of regular school attendance in order to repeat his school work. However, a student who failed only in one subject (e.g., mathematics) would seldom choose this avenue since it would necessitate regular school attendance and repetition of the complete course load offered at the senior level of the *lyceum* -- in addition to the subject he failed. But without a matura he is prevented from even applying to any institution of higher learning. Consequently, most students who fail any portion of a matura examination join the labor force hoping somehow to remedy their scholastic deficiency through tutorials or evening cram courses, or some other remedial process so as to be able to repeat that part of the matura examination in which they failed. However, as indicated, they must do it within the period of three years since a three-year absence from regular school nullifies and voids one's formal student status. Many students who fail at the first try become absorbed into the labor market and never attempt re-examination, or renew their interest at a later date -- that is, past the three-year limit. In this latter case, re-examination then involves special pleading and intervention with the appropriate school authorities, including the Ministry of Education and Higher Learning, and is rarely, if ever, successful.

For those who have succeeded in all tests and have been granted the matura, the period immediately following June 20 is one of excitement and exhileration indeed. In certain localities the presentation of the matura-certificates assumes the proportion of community-wide festivities. In Warsaw, for example, since 1966 the graduates of the city's lycea, technikums, and those who complete the terminal grades of the various vocational schools (in 1966 there was a total of over 30,000 in Warsaw) gather at the central Theatre Square, facing the imposing, rebuilt Grand Theatre, at the base of the "The Nike", the monument erected to honor the Heroes of Warsaw -- the figure of a woman, chest bare, surging forward with sword in hand, long billowing hair arrested in bronze. Usually the occasion is set for June 23 with the participation of representatives of the Warsaw military garrison, the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), the Warsaw National Council, the Front of National Unity (FJN), the Kuratorium. Amidst speeches and song and music and recitation of poetry, the most outstanding 80 lycea graduates are presented with their Certificates of Maturity (the cherished matura), and special medals for good work and social activism are given to some of the graduates. In 1966 the medals were specially cast Youth Millenium Medals.[26]

But even before the maturas are formally handed out, as soon as the last examination is over, a seemingly unending series of "matura balls" and parties begins for the graduates. Some of these are formal, others informal. Teachers are usually required to attend the former and for most students this is the first (and last) occasion on which they meet socially with their mentors. This is also the first time they are allowed on the school premises (where the formal balls take place, usually in the gymnastic hall) in "civilian" attire (the girls in evening gowns, the boys in dark suits, white shirt and tie) rather than in the obligatory school uniform -- navy blue (white collars for the girls) with the number of the respective lyceum on a shield sewn to the left sleeve. These uniforms and numbered shields were instituted for the secondary school system during the 1930s to enable the authorities to better police the students during off-school hours. Students caught out of uniform or minus the identifying lyceum number are subject to disciplinary punishment. Since tradition and administrative measures once taken die hard, the uniforms and numbers were never rescinded under the new political system although students resent them and parents complain of the cost they must bear (for uniforms, shields, special caps, etc.). This writer attended the ball which took place in

1966 in one of the oldest lyceums in Warsaw, No. 27 (named after Czacki). It was a very chic affair indeed, the young celebrants addressed each other formally, the young boys bowed and kissed the young ladies' hands before and after each dance -- in traditional Polish fashion, indicating gratitude and chivalry. Some boys not only bowed and kissed hands but also clicked their heels when bowing. The music was loud and "big beat" and the couples danced with a great deal of enthusiasm and energy. Among the dances was a fox trot type arrangement to the tune of Ave Maria and one that began with the sounding of taps -- both popular at the time among the young on the European continent. Many of those in attendance smoked cigarettes and some vodka was consumed in corners, hallways, and on the stairs.

Possession of the matura does not mean that the graduate is informed of the specific scores he has obtained during the examinations. These are revealed only upon request and at the discretion of the lyceum director. However, these scores play a certain role in admitting a lyceum graduate -- provided he has passed all entrance examinations and other requirements -- to an institution of higher learning, especially one of prestige. It is often not until October that some matura holders learn whether they were admitted to the institution of higher learning of their choice. As a rule, only every third lyceum graduate is fortunate enough to be admitted to the institution of higher learning of first preference, and the ratio is less favorable with respect to admissions to the University of Warsaw or the Jagiellonian University of Kraków.

In any event, following the post-examination celebrations and the awarding of the certificates, many begin to worry in earnest about the future. The entrance examinations to institutions of higher learning follow immediately on the heels of the matura examinations. Those who failed the entrance examinations or passed but for some reasons are denied admission to the post-secondary educational establishment they have applied to, have a second chance during the month of August when they may compete for the remaining vacancies following the June examinations. In 1966-67 even the low-prestige Studium Nauczycielskie (SN type teachers' training schools) find themselves with more applicants than they can physically handle and accept. As a consequence, many students -- matura certificate in hand -- face the prospect of entering the job market, reluctantly, most often against their will, to compete for jobs in industry or in administration. In competing for the former they are likely to lose out to the graduates of the vocational technikums or even to the graduates of the basic vocational schools (who are also younger), and in seeking employment in the latter not infrequently they face the tough competition of university-trained applicants. Many of them, therefore, settle for low-paying jobs in the service industries or for clerical positions in offices. The male matura-holder who is unsuccessful in gaining entrance to an institution of higher learning faces the prospect of service in the armed forces.

Consequently, the summer of graduation from a secondary school of general education is not, in the final analysis, one of the most pleasant in the life of the Pole who has just been formally certified as a member of the New Intelligentsia. It is a trying period, indeed. Many, no doubt, carry psychological scars derived from this experience throughout their life and are bitter. Some feel cheated of some, often undefined, benefits they had hoped for and had expected to obtain. In the end, if in the course of their formal educational experience they have not really internalized the values that the system wants to implant -- and they often were not even *given the opportunity through the fault of the teachers or the school to really become exposed to these values -- the post-matura experience of some further serves to prevent their involvement in the system's lofty hopes, goals, values or even identification with it.*

Some graduates who did not gain entrance to an institution of higher learning will try again in the following years but with diminishing chances, since at that future time they would have to compete against new crops of *matura*-holders with their newly accumulated knowledge fresh in their minds. If lucky, some of those left out at the first try eventually will gain admission to a teachers' training college perhaps and join the profession -- with a bit more experience to their credit, a bit more toned down, resigned, but also grateful for the new chance of obtaining professional status. It is perhaps this factor which makes the older person entering the teaching profession more accommodative to the system's demands than the younger person who has had a smoother "sailing."

Despite the emphasis on polytechnization and vocationalism, certain economic planners and persons in charge of the major employing industrial enterprises maintain -- similarly to Jurek, Skrzypkowski, Nowacki and Pióro -- that the school system does not prepare its graduates for the new industrial economy, what with its new production and distribution techniques. On the other hand, the charge is often heard from educators that the economy and those in charge fail to utilize fully the existing educational and scientific potential.[27] It is quite possible that the educational system, despite periodic reforms, lags behind the new industrial and technological tempo. In the immediate post-World War II years, the task facing the educational system was to replenish the ranks of the cadres -- in the various areas of society -- lost or destroyed during the war. The school system thus became inured to one task -- a task which involved following pretty much established patterns and educational traditions -- and finds it presently difficult to shift gears, as it were. In many instances the existing educational enterprise is simply not equipped in terms of the physical facilities available, in terms of personnel or educational tradition, to meet all the socio-economic and political expectations attached to it, the goals placed before it, especially at the speed desired for the realization of all these goals and expectations. In terms of personnel, the secondary schools have a surplus of teachers trained in philosophy and the humanities -- disciplines of traditional prestige value -- and not enough in the physical sciences or in vocational subjects.[28] Yet, teachers feel hard pressed to meet systemic demands, even those they are not fully equipped to meet in terms of their own training or philosophical outlook. Often teachers try to cover up their own lack of preparation by falling back on "empty talk," slogans. Such protective devices are used especially in classes designed to transmit the socio-political and ideological values of the new system. Not having an answer of his own to the many questions raised or not sure as to the righteousness of the cause he is called upon to promulgate, the teacher often allows student-activists to take over. He may start a discussion in citizenship by tossing out a question such as "What is a People's Government?" and then sit back and see how and in what direction the discussion develops, interfering only now and then in the process. Wincenty Okoń says that "talk is grossly abused and misused" and that it frequently "has little value as far as the transmission of actual knowledge is concerned."[29] The student is quick to sense the teacher's lack of preparation, subject matter knowledge, or his lack of commitment.

To compensate for their own deficiencies teachers frequently fall back on the traditional instructional device of reading from a textbook -- the required text or some other, supposedly unknown to the students -- or to utilize "prefabricated lessons" prepared by the Kuratoria as samples, or to use old notes they have accumulated from their own student days or from casually attended lectures. These devices, however, tend to induce in the student audience a state of "mental laziness," as Okoń points out, or sheer intellectual apathy. Not infrequently, as Kozakiewicz has shown, the modern student knows more about a certain subject than his teacher and such student superiority has a demoralizing effect on the instructor's self-esteem.[30]

"Character education," including "political-ideological education" suffers most in the process because the tendency is to resort in this area to propaganda and sloganeering rather than to undertake serious attempts towards in-depth education and the remolding of the student's personality. As Dr. Kozakiewicz writes elsewhere:

> The aim of socialist education is to create a new positive personality... Whereas propaganda attempts to dictate to the person what he is to think about a given subject without basically altering his personality, political education ought to teach him how to think... Socialist political education aims at forming the young person's mind, his will and his moral style so that he may become aware of the true and real destiny of his epoch and his own life -- so that he may live and act according to that awareness.[31]

The above, however, assumes ideal conditions and expresses hopes. The teacher himself is left without concrete guidelines as to how to proceed with his character molding tasks, and, moreover, he himself is not always and not fully socialized into the values and norms of the ideal socialist personality and character type. Subsequently the tendency is to mark educational time, as it were, to follow routine, instructions from above, as well as educational tradition.

Similarly, the major thrust of the Reform debate concerned technical and administrative innovations -- e.g., whether to adapt a 12-grade public school system with the "breaking point" in the direction of secondary education or of work at the 9th grade, as advocated by Professor Falski,[31] or to follow the recommendation by the Polish Teachers' Union which called for a 9-grade elementary school with an additional 3-grade educational superstructure, or assimilate the East German system of 10-year compulsory education with a parallel system of 12-grade schools for those aiming for higher education. The debate came to a halt when the VII Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) adapted the reform program which was subsequently accepted by the Sejm (parliament) and which eventually was introduced (partially, to be sure) during academic year 1966-67 -- the system, that is, of 8-grade elementary education and 4-grade general secondary education. Seldom did the reform debate indicate a real concern for substantive radical reformation of the school system aside from vague and general statements as to the needs to adjust the educational system to the new socio-political system or the changing economy. As Wincenty Okoń points out: "The reform... did not relatively change much in the basic Polish school model."[32]

Too late to have any effect on the educational reforms which were already being instituted at the time, but implying criticism of the Reform and dissatisfaction with educational plans which avoid tackling some of the basic problems, were some of the statements voiced on the second day of the Congress of Polish Culture in the Fall of 1966. Some of the statements aimed at the need to radically rethink and transform some of the basic philosophical and organizational assumptions of the Polish educational system.

Other statements concerned pleas for special disciplinary and academic interests, and most, to be sure, were general and rhetoric rather than specific in nature.

The boldest statements were made by the eminent Polish sociologist, Professor Jan Szczepański, the historian of Polish literature, Professor Jan Zygmunt Jakubowski, and the archeologist, Professor Zdzisław Rajewski. Dr. Szczepański, a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, a former Rector of the University at Łódź, former Sejm Deputy (non-Party), and at the time head of the Basic Sociological Research Section of the Academy's Institute of Philosophy and Sociology -- later, in the upheaval of 1968 to become that Institute's director -- said: (1) Gifted students at all levels of the educational system ought to be surrounded with special care and conditions should be created so that such students may become involved, to a greater extent than presently practiced, in independent study and research facilitating intellectual growth; this would mean that some of the traditionally accepted teaching tools must be re-examined and new ones, if necessary, adapted. (2) Secondary education must become universal in People's Poland rather than continue to be elitist; this means that serious attention must be given to the economic, educational, and personnel problems of the educational enterprise. (3) There should be greater coordination than presently exists between the results obtained from the social science research efforts and the cultural policies adopted and promulgated by the authorities responsible for the activities in the areas of culture and education. (4) Since language forms the basis of national culture greater care should be given to the development of language skills and greater care to the uses of language not only in the schools but also in the media of mass communication.[34]

Professor Jan Zygmunt Jakubowski, chairman of the Department for the History of Polish Literature at Warsaw University, repeated the call already heard for closer links between institutions of higher learning, especially the universities, and the lower level educational institutions, secondary schools of general education in particular. However, he also came forth with a specific proposal that secondary school teachers be given academic and scientific status (which would, of course, involve a commensurate pay scale) and that personnel exchange programs be established so that university personnel, especially of junior rank, could teach on the secondary level and, in return, secondary school teachers may be drawn into academic activities, including scholarly research.[35]

Professor Zdzisław Rajewski, an archeologist of the Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences and director of the State Archeological Museum in Warsaw, advocated the organization of educational cadres for the actual penetration of the provinces and rural areas, the small towns and villages which presently are in a state of educational and cultural deficiency.[36]

Other statements delivered at the same session of the Congress of Polish Culture though routine in character were nevertheless interesting and revealing. Thus, for example, the Rector of Warsaw University, the mathematician Professor Stanisław Turski, spoke of the closer links between the universities and society-at-large in the past and asked for the re-establishment of the system of popular public university lectures open to all; the Pro-rector (Prorektor) of the Higher State School for Theatre and Film Arts (the "Leon Schiller School"), Professor Stanisław Wohl, proposed the formation of a special inter-departmental and inter-ministerial commission for wider and more efficient utilization of audio-visual aids (and the establishment of a machinery for the distribution of same) in the fields of science, education, and the propagation of culture; Professor Kazimiera Zawistowicz-Adamska of Łódź University, ethnologist, complained that members of her profession are poorly used and asked for a revision of the system of recruitment for higher education, particularly in the field of ethnography; the Pro-rector of the Higher Music School in Warsaw, Professor Teodor Zalewski, spoke of the "blank" spots on the country's map -- areas void of artists and any cultural activities whatever -- and asked for a program for the employment of art and music school graduates and assistance in efforts to "distribute" them over the country. Finally, Professor Henryk Markiewicz of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow (Kraków), a member of the Academy, demanded superior quality textbooks on the secondary school level, especially in the areas of literature and foreign language instruction.[37]

It would seem some of the above statements most certainly pointed to at least some of the problems marring the contemporary Polish educational picture and impairing the chances for achievement of the system's stated goals and objectives as well as realization of its values. These are:

1. Adherance to traditional forms of instruction and reluctance to experiment with new and innovative programs in the area of teacher-student relations.
2. Lack of equality in educational opportunities -- despite the oratory about "democratization" -- especially affecting certain socio-economic groups, particularly in the rural areas and provincial small towns.
3. Inability or reluctance to mobilize adequate economic, social and organizational resources so as to bring about genuine universalization of secondary education (both general and vocational).

4. Absence of efficient utilization in the policy-decision-making process of the findings derived from scholarly and inter-subjective research, particularly in the areas of the social sciences and educational methodology.

5. Continuation of the elitist, hierarchical, and traditional patterns of educational organization causing status differentiation between various levels and types of educational institutions, preventing, consequently, the establishment of closer links of communication and cooperation between the various levels and educational types, with concomitant feelings of superiority among some educational cadres and feelings of inferiority and alienation among others.

6. Alienation of the educational enterprise, especially of higher levels, from the total life of the community.

7. Deficiency in proper functional utilization of existing professional cadres with respect to training and skill, on the one hand, and socio-cultural and educational needs on the other.

There does not, therefore, seem to be a lack of awareness as to the existing problems among certain members of the elite, and there is sufficient open discussion about these problems -- but those most aware of the problems are seldom in decision-making positions and the road between awareness as to what has to be done (to use Lenin's phrase) and actually doing it, between the diagnosis of a problem and the machinery involving decision-making and implementation of the decisions affecting these problems is long and cumbersome, in People's Poland as elsewhere.

Chapter VI

Conclusions

Poland is indeed a country in transition, in transition towards urbanization and industrialization. Polish society is changing accordingly both in response to the changes in the physical environment and in response to the socio-political revolution brought about with the emergence of the "People's Democracy." The latter has imposed upon society a new set of expectations and goals, a system formally committed to a set of values and ideological premises which were hitherto alien to large segments of that society. Consequently, the state of transition is a state of flux, of value-change, style-changes, with many areas in which new norms and patterns battle with old established traditions, or, conversely, areas in which the traditional and modern -- the modern borne of technological change, of political changes, or of both -- coexist. How long such coexistence may continue or which of the competing norms may finally win out and dominate the scene -- the old or the new -- is hard to judge at this time. It is quite possible that out of the conglomeration and entanglement a new political system and a new socio-political culture will eventually evolve encompassing in long-lasting marriage the patterns of old, the goals of the new order as well as the values, norms, and styles which synthesize, as it were, both the old and the new.

In the meantime, plans and designs of the new political system often meet head on with deep-rooted cultural values and styles, and, as a result, not infrequently various goals and expectations of the system must undergo revision, modification, and adjustment in the face of community hostility or indifference. Similarly, certain old patterns must somehow accommodate themselves to systemic pressures. For precisely these reasons sophisticated but cynical Poles sometimes describe their present political system and the socio-political culture enveloping it as neither "socialist" nor "Catholic," neither "Communist" nor "capitalist," but rather as "surrealist" -- a condition in which the seemingly impossible becomes real.

As a result, current Polish society is highly dichotomized: established community norms and patterns pull in the direction of traditional religious practice and the Church, while the political system tries to impose values and styles related to a secular and materialist "world outlook" and to mobilize the community's energies around the dominant Party; values related to labor and industrial productivity and organizational rationality and efficiency coexist with traditional patterns of doing things and with values and norms related to old aristocratic styles and habits born during a past feudal age. Consequently, the value of work conflicts or tries to find some modus-vivendi with the value of leisure, productivity conflicts with concepts of the "good life" which call for relaxation, the value of efficiency somehow has to find its roots alongside established patterns of traditional family connections, pull, stratification, and prestige. Official stress on technology-related skills confronts ingrained social orientations towards the humanities, and the lure and the need for vocational education is checked by popular hunger for general education and the status which comes with the latter.

Many of the newly sponsored systemic values find their existence only in the realm of oratory and symbols and remain there without ever emotionally involving even those espousing these symbols. Thus, there is talk about work and more work; there is talk about efficiency and rational planning; there is talk for greater secularization and scientific thinking; there is much talk about socialism and a classless society and about the importance of education if the stated goals and objectives are to be achieved. But much of this talk has relatively little relationship to how things are actually being done or to what is going on. The oratory constitutes one level of behavior and the practice takes place on another, often without relationship between the two planes. Leisure time activity is still more highly appreciated than work and even those who talk of the need for work toast their uplifting conclusions with a relaxed drink. Carefully drawn development plans often leave no mark in reality and the plans which are realized frequently bear no relationship to officially stated goals and sometimes result in practices which are counterproductive to the formally stated objectives. The youth brought up in the new schools which were to socialize them into the values of the new order and provide them with a "secularistic" and "scientific" framework continues to maintain traditional ties with the Church, and rigid social stratification continues and is perpetuated because -- despite the oratory about the importance of education as a big "social leveler," as the only rational vehicle for individual advancement -- education remains a low priority item in the allocation of total resources, and educational opportunities are unequally distributed among the various sectors of society thus perpetuating old status distinctions. For, despite its low priority position in terms of resource allocations, education is indeed a mark of status, along with family background and socio-economic position. The educational structure itself is highly differentiated, with lines of demarcation between various levels and types of education, with obstacles erected at crucial points of the individual's educational development -- and the net result is a perpetuation of many of the old divisions along traditional lines of class, status, and prestige. It is a class conscious society despite declarations to the contrary and despite an official ideology which posits classlessness as an ideal. Rigid class lines are drawn in many areas of life and while -- as in the field of railroad passenger transportation these take the form, as elsewhere in Europe, of formally designated superior ("first") and inferior ("second") class accommodations -- these are not formalized they are no less distinctive in other, more consequential areas of social activity, including that of education. Status and class distinction accompanies the citizen of People's Poland into death: in the type and cost of funeral he can afford, in the "representativeness" of the cemetery he is buried in if he died in Warsaw. And, of course, the dichotomization characterizing Polish life is also with him on his very last voyage. A writer recently described the funeral procession of an old revolutionary:

> They buried an old socialist activist,a veteran of 1905. Priests walked at the head of the funeral procession mumbling Latin verses. The coffin was followed by comrades of revolutionary battles and the band from the community transportation system since the deceased was employed on the city's streetcars. The priests mumbled at the request of the family. The band...played selections of old revolutionary songs, returning frequently to the air of the "International." ...there was an amazing unity of opposites and the unity was not disturbed even by the fact that the priests fell into silence and donned their skull caps every time the bars of the "International" were intoned.[1]

The political revolution has come to Poland as a result of war and external pressures rather than as the result of domestic revolutionary forces, pressing towards change and, in the process radicalizing society, transforming its orientation and redirecting popular values and hopes. Although socialism had a long tradition as a mass movement in Poland, it was splintered along ethnic lines and along lines of ideological diversity within the general socialist fold. In addition, the long partition of Poland -- which ended only with the establishment of an independent state in 1918 -- caused the major socialist party, the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), to gear its energies towards the achievement of independence, the continuation of national values rather than towards socio-economic revolution and development within the masses of socialist-oriented values. The achievement of independence sapped that Party of much of its strength since those who saw in it an organizational vehicle towards the achievement of Polish independence, but were less interested in the realization of the socialist aspect of the Party's program, considered the goal of the Party accomplished. As a consequence of these conditions, socialism in Poland -- except within limited social circles and groups, as among Jewish workers, streetcar employees (as the old revolutionary in the story above), certain segments of the landless peasantry in Galicia, etc. -- never managed to create a type of subculture which would fill its members' days with a socialist-oriented content of values and activities or would take care of the membership's spiritual and social needs from cradle to grave. The German Left, the socialists in Vienna, managed to create such subculture traditions with styles and behavior setting its members apart from the rest of society. Socialism and communism in Poland never could accomplish this because of an appeal that was limited to only certain segments of the prewar population; but in appealing to the broad masses of ethnic Poles, Polish socialism had to compete with traditional national values and concerns and had to be content with the presence of the Catholic Church, exercising strong influences. Thus, when socialism became -- as a result of World War II and the postwar conditions in East Europe -- the official creed, society lacked the type of personality which, brought up under conditions of a prewar socialist subculture, "schooled" in the institutions of such subculture, would be prepared and ready to step in and take charge of the newly established system now officially endorsing the socialist ideology and socialist values. The extermination of Jews, many of whom actually lived before World War II in a narrow Jewish-socialist subculture of their own, deprived the formally socialist-oriented system of the contribution of that element; moreover, if they had been on the scene their utility would have been limited since they constituted an ethnic minority and among the Polish ethnic majority suspicions were fostered, grown on a soil of passionate nationalism and religious prejudice, that socialism and communism are Jewish plots to begin with.

Thus, the socialist personality-type, the type of person thoroughly assimilated into a socialist value-system, totally committed, once such type came into vogue, as it were, once such type was in political demand, was not to be found. The system had to concentrate on laying the groundwork for the development of the new, presently sanctioned and ideal socialist person. But much of the effort in the direction of developing and molding the new personality type, especially among the youth, was left -- because of scarce personnel -- in the hands of cadres who were themselves alien to the new system or only partially socialized into it. Under such conditions those responsible for the maintenance of the system faced two alternatives: either to force social compliance by relying upon strictly applied administrative measures, or to compromise with existing circumstances and with the socializing tools available, however imperfect they may be. While socializing efforts, centered especially on the institutions of education and mass culture, were never given up greater reliance was placed, until October 1956 (that is, the Stalinist period), on extracting compliance through disciplinary measures while, beginning with that date, a greater sensitivity to reality necessitated co-existence and compromise with the persisting residues of the old order. The end of 1964 -- that is, more or less dating from the time of the ouster of Nikita Khrushchev from leadership position in the Soviet Union -- created new conditions. These conditions, however, emphasize the continuous state of flux inasmuch as efforts towards socialization go on alongside compromises with reality and tradition but, as if in frustration, as if impatient with the results obtained, the leadership periodically falls back on pre-1956 type of administrative restrictions.

As a result, Konstanty Grzybowski is able to differentiate between four social character types as being dominant on the current Polish scene: The first and most numerous is consumption oriented, expects the state to meet his market-oriented expectations, and is unhappy if it does not; the second is the rare prewar socialist or communist who takes his ideology seriously and who, in the words of Grzybowski, has the "mind of Marx and the heart of Cato" -- the Roman Censor -- and is appalled by the reality which departs so markedly from his own hopes but who is himself, in private, quite vulnerable to the temptation of a non-puritanical "good life;" the third, is the traditional, nationalist type of idealist who also rejects reality since all Poles do not meet his rigid expectations of semper fidelis; the fourth and last type has, by this time, become sufficiently socialized to accept the goals of the system while still maintaining doubts as to the propriety of the means utilized for the accomplishment of these goals.[2]

However, regardless of the various levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with existing conditions, the system is now -- after more than twenty years of existence -- perceived as being legitimate inasmuch as it exists and exercises authority. It is legitimate because it is. And while by this time only a minority of Poles have adopted and assimilated the ideal, from the system's point of view, "socialist consciousness," they have absorbed a "legal consciousness" which merely calls for obedience to the laws rather than wholehearted endorsement of and agreement with the intent of the laws. And, again, forced to compromise with reality, those in charge of the system have settled on mere "legal consciousness" as the best possible condition of government available to them, but by so doing they have lessened the momentum of the drive towards true socialization into "socialist consciousness." The latter remains a symbol referred to during festive occasions, an oratorical prop. Under the circumstances, compromise becomes the style of government, and persons who are either ideologically dogmatic or idealistic face the charge of "adventurism" and "inflexibility" when opposing continuous patterns of sociopolitical compromise. To be sure, Lenin himself advocated political and tactical flexibility but he also warned his followers against various types of compromises -- maintaining that distinction should be made between a tactical compromise which may produce long range benefits to the movement's goal-realization and the compromises borne of "opportunism" which may eventually result in alteration of the movement's character and the goals it espouses.[3]

In Poland, however, the system was compelled to compromise with a strong religious tradition and the Party was forced into co-existence with the Church. However, since both the Party and the Church claim the mandate of representing and speaking for the nation, and both approach reality from diverse philosophical perspectives, frictions between the two are frequent. Yet, the system is compelled to solicit the assistance of experts (including educators) whose ties with the Church are strong for a variety of reasons, and it rationalizes such personnel policies in terms of alleged nonexistence of conflict between commitment to religion, on the one hand, and to the ideology of socialism, on the other. The underlying rationale is based upon the concept of religion not being a competing ideology since its primary concern is with the spiritual realm, with a life hereafter rather than with fashioning the socio-political and economic order in the empirical world. The trouble, however, is that the Church sees itself, and is seen, as the organized arm of religion within society and as such is politically involved, continuously challenging the organization of the Party and the Party's belief system. Moreover, in Poland the Church was drawn into the political arena by historical circumstances which forced upon her the role of guardian of national values -- during periods of statelessness and foreign occupation -- and, in the process, national values and religious Church values became almost synonymous. The concept of "Pole" and the concept of "Catholic" became merged through historical circumstance as the very attainment of nationhood, and original statehood coincided with adoption of Catholicism. Under the banner of the Church and religion, Poland expanded its authority in the past and the powerful enemies it faced were invariably nations of different religious orientations: Protestants from the West and North, Russian Orthodox from the East. The Party is presently trying to disenfranchise the Church from its monopoly as spokesman of the nation and guardian of all-national values, and under these conditions religious commitment, which means ties with the Church, place the individual in the position of seeming to challenge the claims of the secular authority, the system, and the Party. Thus, while one can perhaps theoretically consider himself religious and at the same time feel a certain loyalty to the system or even accept certain socialist premises (non-Marxist, to be sure), it is questionable whether such a person would in a test of loyalties, in a situation of conflict involving the competing political claims of the state and the Church, subordinate himself without reservation to the dictate of the former rather than the latter. Yet, the system is compelled to enlist persons of such doubtful loyalty -- from its own point of view -- to do the work of promoting the values of the secular system and the objectives of the Party.

Nevertheless, because the religious order and the institution of the Church are so deeply entrenched in the Polish culture, the system -- often conscious that it is against its own long-range interests -- is compelled to seek accommodation with tradition, including the tradition of religion and Church loyalty. Patterns of accommodation are particularly pronounced in provincial small towns and rural villages where the roots of religion and the Church are particularly deep but, precisely because of such depth, precisely because religion and the Church date a longer (and uninterrupted) existence, the secular order finds itself giving way to the religious order. The schools are perceived in the popular mind as being the organs of the secular order in challenge to the authority of the Church, and the teacher, even of religious persuasion, is seen as the agent of the secular-political order in challenge of the established community authority of the priest. Caught in this web of conflicting forces, the school and the teacher find themselves, especially in the rural and provincial community, losing ground to the Church and the priest.

Espousing the values of the socialist order, the system is both ideologically and structurally committed to the concept of centralized authority and centralized planning. The school is seen as the system's most advanced outpost. In terms of value propagation and the achievement of its economic goals, paramount functional importance is attached to the process of education. In long-range terms the very security of the system hinges upon future generations of thoroughly socialized citizens and education's ability to bring about such socialization. Education is also seen as the vehicle through which the old class structure may eventually be abolished by providing to the brightest and the most loyal the means for upward mobility. Theoretically education would become the basis of one's claim to prominence and status.

Nevertheless, despite the importance attached to education and the long-range hopes pinned on the institution of education, education per se, in terms of resource allocation, remains a relatively low priority item to the central planners who are faced with the compelling need for the achievement of short-range social and economic objectives. Investments in education lack, as far as resource allocators are concerned, the immediate pay-off potential as compared to investments in industrial enterprises, for example, and the planners and allocators are faced with the necessity of producing immediate and tangible results. Consequently, the system operates very much on a day-to-day basis and the allocation of resources -- generally scarce -- takes place with short-range benefits in mind, to meet current obligations and pressures, or to make the organization whose plans were actually realized "look good."

Much of the pressures which result in low priority given to investments in education emanate from the existing hierarchy of values within the community. The community, for one thing, does not necessarily share the goals of the system but sees greater need for consumer goods, housing, "the good life" related to immediately obtainable material goods. While education within Polish culture was traditionally held in high esteem and the educated person enjoyed community prestige much because education was the mark of the traditionally privileged social classes, there is a reluctance to undertake great economic sacrifices for education if such sacrifice necessitates relinquishing demands for immediate economic and material improvements. Moreover, the promises and hopes generated by the ideology have whetted appetites for tangible betterment among the lower classes which while aspiring towards education lack the tradition of paying for it. Having emerged from economic deprivation, still in the midst of relative poverty (if compared to other European political systems), having emerged from a destructive war and five years of occupation, the hunger for material goods carries the quality of impatience. In addition, the "substantive" education that is valued within this culture is not the "right" kind of education from the point of view of the system and its goals. That is, rather than seeking education which would help advance industrialization and thetechnological and economic might of the system, popular educational aspirations remain in the direction of the humanities, social sciences, or training in the professions of traditional prestige. Humanistic scholarship remains high in esteem, again because this was the type of scholarship most favored by the traditional elites which saw their roles as continuators of cultural traditions, bearers of national hopes rooted in a romantic-feudal (anti-industrial and anti-capitalist) tradition. The impoverished gentry -- impoverished very much because it abhorred physical labor, mercantilism, money-making -- placed with its interests and orientations a lasting cultural stamp on all classes of Polish society and on all sociopolitical movements regardless of formal ideology.

Thus, because of these conditions -- conditions rooted in tradition as well as in current and immediate necessities, in the lack of deep commitment to and universal sharing of long-range systemic goals, in the economic pressures of the moment, in an all-pervasive consciousness of resource scarcity, in the need to produce quick and tangible material results, and in inefficient administration -- the result of all these circumstances is that, despite talk abcut the importance of education and the theoretical esteem accorded the teaching profession, education in reality remains a low priority item and much of the planning in this area never reaches realization.

However, the system's need to train the young, especially, for the role of citizenship within the system, as well as the need to meet the skill requirements of developing industry and technology, remain. Moreover, the latter involves not only the acquisition of technical know-how but, as in the case of citizenship education, the development of an attitude, a state of mind, the absorption of a set of values related to life in a modern industrial society. Just as the norms of the new political system differ from those characteristic of the preceding system, the norms of an urban and industrial culture differ from the semifeudal, rural, peasant culture which Poland experienced until very recently. Thus, the values and goals of the political revolution and the parallel values and needs of the ongoing industrial-technical-urban revolution combine and work towards the development of a new culture. And as Antonina Kłosówska writes:

> The process of transmission and acceptance of specific cultural models is subordinated to recognized social norms and social goals. Under the influence of the latter certain types of behavior undergo elimination from the historical experience of society, while other forms of behavior become strengthened, emphasized so as to appear as models worthy of behavioral emulation. ... Each act of human behavior must pass therefore through the mill of social acceptance. Thus, along the road of the historical selection process a culture is formed.[4]

It is thus not merely a question of learning but, as Lenin put it, of what and how to learn. He said:

> The teaching, training and education of the new generation that will create the communist society cannot be conducted on the old lines. ... Only by radically remoulding the teaching, organization and training of the youth shall we be able to ensure that the efforts of the younger generation will result in the creation of a society that will be unlike the old society...[5]

Similarly, industrialization requires a learning process which would functionally be related to the technological skills in economic demand. These joint educational emphases of the political system, on the one hand, and of the economic system, on the other, are described as "polytechnic" since they combine both "character education" and technical skill-training. However, what happens is that technological education collides with the still persisting values and norms of a preindustrial culture and the process of "character education" is hindered by the persistent, still existing values, beliefs and patterns of the preceding political system and the traditional political culture (in which religion and Church figure prominently). The inculcation of the newly sponsored systemic values, the implantation of a commitment to new beliefs and ideals, is further hindered by the wide gap between the system's lofty premises and the existing social reality -- a gap to which the young especially react negatively. The negative reaction is especially marked among those who have received their entire education under the new system, indicating that socialization into the system's ideal norms may indeed have counterproductive effects.

However, if the impact of industrial needs on the type of education deemed necessary by the system is offset by traditional culture values and patterns, industrialization has given general impetus to educational pursuits and to the ability of the industrialized community to pay for education. Although the system stresses centralized authority and central planning, much of the responsibility for financing education (and many of the other social services) falls on the local authorities whose abilities to plan and operate are limited (or enhanced) by the type of economy prevalent within the area. That is, while the central authorities draw up plans (including curriculum plans) much of the implementation of these plans is left to local initiative and such initiative varies often with the economic resources available to the locality. Here is where industrial areas are placed in advantageous position vis-a-vis areas of primarily agricultural or small craft economies. But, again, although industry provides ability to pay for education, the tendency remains to seek traditional types of education which often have little relationship to the immediate industrial needs. On the other hand, while affecting the cultural, economic, and political style of the "urbanized" person (e.g., children of peasants who migrate to the big city), urbanization seems to have less effect on the educational and cultural orientations of the remainder of the country, the bulk of society still existing in rural villages and small provincial towns. If anything, the proximity to large urbanized centers seems to affect the provincial or rural community negatively since the most ambitious, most mobile, and upward bound youth are drawn away from it. That youth, however, having preferred an education often unrelated to the requirement of the industrial economy and unable to enter the crowded institutions of higher learning -- which because of their physical limitations continue to favor the youth of superior educational background, that is, the youth of the traditionally upper classes and the big cities -- remain stranded and not infrequently frustrated. Yet, it is from among the persons of workingclass and smalltown background that the system seems to draw its most ardent supporters.

However, because of the way in which the educational system is structured and the manner in which educational resources and opportunities are distributed, the smalltown workingclass and rural peasantry, while enjoying greater privileges than in the past, is nevertheless deprived of most benefits the system has to offer, and, what is more significant, is left, as in the past, on the lower rungs of the stratification ladder although officially and in terms of the ideology these are considered the "superior" social classes and groups and it is in their behalf that the Party purports to rule. Moreover, the prestige value attached to the various classes and groups on the ladder follow the traditional pattern. The often heard contention that social prestige under the new system has been divorced from its traditional relationship to income is not entirely borne out by the evidence. In income terms those within the public sector of the economy are generally less privileged than those (with the exception of the rural peasantry) within the private economic sector. The low prestige accorded to high income persons in the private sector is due, however, not so much to that income (which is being envied) but to the fact that the types of occupations and the socio-economic groups encompassed by the private economic sector were traditionally of low social prestige. On the other hand, salary differentiations within the public sector of the economy indicate that there does indeed exist a relationship between income and traditional occupational prestige patterns, and within the various branches of the public economy income is further differentiated according to education generally -- which, in turn, is "stacked" against the traditionally lower social classes. Thus, again, what we have within the total society -- despite pronouncements to the contrary -- is an income and consumption stratification related to the economy and a prestige hierarchy related to traditional *cultural norms but also with corresponding (and thus officially sanctioned) pay scale rewards*.

The teachers and the school system standing, as it were, at the various gates towards upward mobility, checking the flow, facilitating -- often by force of circumstances -- the upward movement of some but not of others, attract some measure of community hostility. Drawn into a variety of civic activities -- frequently against his own inclination -- the teacher, especially on the village and smalltown level, becomes thoroughly identified with the system and is seen as that system's *ex-officio* agent. Consequently, he becomes the target for all kinds of grievances against the system -- grievances generated by problems wholly unrelated to education. Yet, the teachers and the schools are there, quite often the only visible reminders of the system. Thus thrown in the midst of the conflict between State and Church, ideology and religion, blamed for blocking the drive towards social and economic equalization, blamed for the shortcomings of the system, blamed for being active and doing while others sit back -- yet expected to be active and "involved" -- the teacher and the school often find themselves in the community but not of it and not with it. This kind of alienation of the educational enterprise from community life finds repercussion in a variety of ways: It may express itself in a solid front of indifference, if not hostility, maintained by the local authorities (including the Party functionaries) towards the local school collectivity or it may express itself in the lack of support rendered to formal demands of the school authorities or the informally voiced demands of student rebels. When the students of the higher institutions of education and secondary schools took to the streets in March, 1968, their protests -- triggered at that time by the ban on a new dramatization of Mickiewicz's classic *Dziady* (*Forefathers*) -- did not generate much popular support. The average Polish wageearner was, if anything, annoyed that the street disturbances would delay him on his way home for supper. It was easy for the government and Party to mobilize mass support, especially among the workingclass, against the students on that occasion. They, the students, were seen as "spoiled brats," not working, having a gay time, "parasiting" on the back of the toiling masses who support their education.

Yet the teacher traditionally enjoyed a high level of social prestige as he still does. That such prestige is not translated into commensurate material remuneration lends the teaching profession an aura of idealism. However, much of the teacher's prestige was a function of his knowledge vis-a-vis the community's ignorance, as it were. The teacher was frequently, next to the priest, the only literate person in a rural locality and much more accessible than the latter since he had to establish himself in the eyes of the community, ingratiate himself into its favors. However, as levels of ignorance decrease within the community -- as a result of increased universalization of at least a minimum of education (of at least six-grade elementary schooling), as a result of the increasing popularity of the mass media -- the teacher loses hold over monopoly on knowledge within the community and stands to lose his social standing as a result. Young students exposed to the media, especially television -- which the low income teacher often finds it harder to afford than the parents of his students -- frequently are ahead of their teachers in awareness and knowledge of the wide world and its technological and scientific achievements. As a result of these conditions teachers in Poland are seriously concerned over their prestige and status.

The continuance of social stratification patterns within the community-at-large is paralleled within the educational structure. High on the stratification pyramid are the institutions of higher learning, especially the universities, and among the secondary schools those of general education preparing their graduates for possible university entrance are superior to the vocationally oriented establishments, and on the elementary level the eight-grade school carries a higher esteem value than the six- or seven-grade incomplete school or the basic vocational school. Those employed on the various levels or the various types of educational institutions within the same level enjoy a status corresponding as a rule to the status of the institution in which they are working, with commensurate pay scales -- except that on each level those in vocational education receive an additional bonus of 10-15 percent above the base pay for that level. These status and pay differences contribute to the gap existing between the educational levels and between the teachers of the different levels although they all belong to the same general Teachers' Union. This gap, in turn, prevents the establishment of close links between the educational institutions of various levels, links which would result in ongoing exchanges of information, transmission of knowledge or even the development of a "united educational front." The suggestion by Professor Jan Zygmunt Jakubowski that universities and secondary schools of general education establish personnel exchange programs would probably help narrow the gap, if adopted, but in the process of realization would probably clash with the vested interests of those in higher education who benefit both in terms of prestige and remuneration from the existing differentiation and stratification. The stratification within the educational structure is so severe and the prestige differentiation so marked that if the school authorities think of punishing a particular educator for some kind of infraction or deviation he is usually relegated, demoted from a higher level of education, to a lower one, from big city to provincial employment -- regardless of his own specialty, credentials, or educational achievement. But what this does is (a) increase the feelings of social status inferiority among those already on the lower levels vis-a-vis those on the higher levels, and (b) place on the crucial lower levels of education and socialization -- where it may very well count the most -- political or social malcontents and those who feel aggrieved by the system.

As in society-at-large so within the educational enterprise, too, traditional practices and styles die hard. This adherence to traditionalism hinders individual educational initiative and makes it difficult to develop new, innovative educational forms or content. The various educational and school reforms hitherto discussed or adopted concern mainly technical revision of the school structure, educational administration, or, only to a limited extent, curriculum content. There is little bold experimentation although attempts for experimentation in the area of educational methodology are undertaken in a few existing "model" schools. The latter involve such aspects of educational "modernity" as programmed learning, teaching machines, etc. However, there is little serious thought given to putting the whole educational enterprise on tracks different from the conventional ones. Tradition dies hard even in obligatory secondary student dress -- navy blue with a school identification number. Resented by students and originally introduced in the late thirties, under the presently condemned prewar political system, so that students may be more efficiently policed during off-school hours, these uniforms are still mandatory. Similarly, although officially prohibited, corporal punishment of elementary students in smalltown provincial schools and villages, is still in use. Traditionalism is also evident in the system of periodic examinations, especially from grade to grade, from level to level, with a prolonged examination period before graduation and before entrance into institutions of higher educational level. Even the type of questions and problems given to students in the examinations reflect a persistence of traditional educational orientations and philosophies. From a pedagogic point of view the continued stress on lectures followed by examinations administered at given periods prevents the teacher from establishing rapport with the students, hinders the development of an atmosphere of give and take, and, from a practical point of view, delays the feedback of acquired knowledge thus deterring the instructor from keeping check on his own classroom effectiveness. Moreover, the very institution of examinations serves as a barrier erected on the road towards upward movement, and this barrier is often unsurmountable to some. Graduates of "inferior" provincial and rural schools find it hard to compete in entrance examination to higher level educational establishments with graduates of qualitatively superior metropolitan area schools, especially schools whose student clientele is of intelligentsia background. Nor does the system allow for the accommodation of "late bloomers," whose only chance is to try again, in case of entrance examination failure, at some future date but with diminishing chances for success. Those who fail a graduating examination have only limited periods in which they can make up for past failure. The extensive network of People's and Workers' Universities serve merely to uplift the educational and cultural levels of the adult population or to improve the vocational skills of workers in certain branches of the economy -- but within the regular educational system crucial choices regarding future careers must be made (a) at the end of the sixth grade, especially in rural villages which lack a complete elementary school, (b) at the end of seventh grade -- whether to proceed to the eighth "academically" oriented grade or, alternately, into the employment market or vocational education. Moreover, if successful in attaining that which is available to relatively few -- that is, entrance to an institution of higher learning -- one finds himself "locked into" the specific occupational-professional specialty for which he is being trained for a prescribed time period after graduation, thus preventing those who either did not have a free choice initially (but picked the higher institution most accessible to them) or who later find themselves unsuitable for the occupation of their first choice to switch training and careers amidstream. And, again, these practices do diminish the chances of some groups -- especially the rural elements, the poor -- from taking advantage of the educational opportunities that are generally available. The son of a peasant often could not be spared to leave his native village to attend the seventh or eighth grade elementary school, much less to attend secondary school in the nearest provincial town -- provided he has successfully passed the entrance examinations.

Thus the teacher while expected to be an educator, a subject matter specialist generally, creative in his work, a social activist, politically aware, finds himself arrested in his possibilities by formalistic rules, by tradition, and by an impersonal bureaucratic school administration whose primary instinct is that of self-preservation, self-protection, and this may include sacrificing the teacher if need be in order to placate community sentiments. The rules even prevent the teacher from fully utilizing one of the few weapons he has available to himself personally -- the weapon of the grade. Each school administration adheres to the quota of 10 percent failures per year lest greater failure may reflect on the school administration and staff and on their teaching abilities.

Thus hamstrung as the teacher is, the students sensing the insecurity and sometime impotent authority of their mentors, suspicious of the system of which the educational enterprise is a component part, young people turn to their peer group for mutual sustenance and influence. They learn from one another, reinforce one another, adhere to the same fads, and create a youth subculture of their own. Even the youngest of the teachers, those 25 years of age or younger, seem to belong to a youth type of culture which expresses itself, on the one hand, in open or tacit support for religion and the Church since they see these as challenges to systemic reality but which, on the other hand, is not really deeply committed to the moral and ethical principles of religion nor to the stated ideals of the system nor even to the philosophical and moral underpinnings of a scientific-technological civilization. Their "religiosity" seems to be in the nature of a silent protest, and their view of socialism -- while generally endorsing its goals, especially those related to social welfare and classlessness -- is laced, however, with skepticism bordering on cynicism, and their "modernity" expresses itself in a craving for the superficial symbols of the advanced technological age, e.g., gadgets of convenience, sexual enjoyment without fear of physical consequences, etc.

Burdened by additional, extra-curricular, nonschool related duties -- usually of sociopolitical, civic activism -- teachers find little time to establish closer relationships with students. In recent years 5 percent of teachers with the highest professional qualifications left employment in secondary schools of general education. Those most likely to remain in the profession -- after the three-year limit obligating them to practice in the occupation for which they were trained at public expense -- are, in addition to the idealists, those whose options for leaving the ranks are rather limited by age, sex prejudice, accumulated tenure, or because of inferior intellectual capacity or training. The latter group includes those who graduated from teachers' training colleges (Studium Nauczycielskie) which are less prestigious and of inferior educational quality but which are relatively open and thus attract those who were rejected from the more academic institutions of higher learning, including the Higher Schools of Pedagogy. These teachers' colleges of the SN type remain attractive to sons and daughters of the peasantry, however, or to the offspring of the smalltown, provincial proletariat who somehow have managed to receive a general secondary education and to whom these teachers' training colleges (SN) provide a quick and efficient means of entry into a profession, teaching. However, these teachers' training colleges of the SN type lack not only the prestige but also the intellectual stimuli characteristic of the universities, and, consequently, their curriculum offerings and the general atmosphere prevailing within them is sterile, bound by tradition, lack of innovation, an awareness as to the inferiority of their status which stifles creativeness and initiative. As a result, the training the prospective teacher receives in them is of inferior quality, and although the majority of the teaching cadres -- especially on the lower levels of education and particularly in the provinces -- come from these colleges or similar training institutions, there is serious talk about their total liquidation.

Yet, whether born out of professional insecurity, idealism or gratefulness for having received an opportunity to enter upon a professional career and thus to upgrade their social status, teacher-graduates of these types of training institutions are among the most conforming and the most loyal to the organization in the sense of being the least likely to leave.

In fact, while generally more or less satisfied with their professional choice, the level of occupational satisfaction decreases with the increased level of the teacher's own education. On the other hand, satisfaction with the profession increases with age since younger teachers are more apt to be impatient, quickly disappointed, and more likely to cast glances at what may appear to be "greener pastures." Also, the realistic chances of moving out from the teaching profession decrease with age. But even more than age (and lower education) it is tenure within the profession itself which induces feelings of occupational satisfaction and conformity to the system's expectations with regard to the teaching profession, including an acceptance of the system's educational goals and objectives. It is, thus, a combination of age (middle age), tenure (from 6 to 20 years in the profession), and inferior occupational training which in total produce the highest level of conformity and satisfaction among teachers in Poland.

It is the youngest teachers (age 25 or less), themselves totally educated under the new system, who present a problem from the point of view of the new order. It is they from whom most would be expected by the system that the least is received -- in terms of socialization of systemic values, norms, in terms of conformity to systemic expectations and acceptance of systemic goals. Older teachers are generally more pliable with the sole exception of being more fearful than younger teachers of the possible consequences -- both to society-at-large and to their professional competence and status -- of the ongoing scientific-technological revolution. Trained for the most part in the humanities and traditional social sciences, they find demands for higher technological-scientific skills, the expectation that education keep abreast with scientific development and the needs of the economy, both threatening and unsettling. They, the older teachers, who find adjustment to the political revolution quite easy and palatable, fear the need for adjustment to the technological-scientific and industrial revolution. Thus, if systemic demands do not hold out a direct or perceived threat to the particular group of teachers, tenure in the profession generally does serve to smooth adjustment difficulties and acceptance of systemic goals and expectations, especially in the areas where the system itself is clear and precise in its signals, in what it wants. The difficulty for many teachers is that while the system is clear in its educational subject matter demands it is rather vague and imprecise in spelling out its expectations in the realm of "character education," as well as in "teacher morality" and range of ideological commitments. One suspects that the failure of the system to present its expectations in the latter area with greater precision is due both to a lack of crystalization as to its own ideological goals in terms of their realizability as well as to an underlying uncertainty as to the teachers' capacity or readiness to work for these goals should they be crystalized and realizable.

If older teachers trained in the humanities are more likely to accept the goals and values of the socio-political revolution (however vaguely spelled out) than those of the technological-scientific revolution, the reverse seems to hold for teachers trained in mathematics and the physical sciences. The latter seem to be able to reconcile their own professional-scientific frame of reference with a commitment to religious and Church values thus challenging the system's expectation in that area. Moreover, unlike their colleagues trained in the humanities and traditional social sciences, the teachers of mathematics and the physical sciences seem to expect both professional-status and social benefits from a realization of the goals of the technological-scientific revolution. Their training and skills would become more enhanced and appreciated then, one's expertise would count more than one's politics they hope -- but more importantly, it seems, they anticipate that with scientific-technological advancement and with increased industrialization the system would become less "politicized" and thus more tolerant to their own predilection towards the traditional cultural values, including those related to faith. In other words, they perceive the society which would emerge from the technological-scientific revolution and concomitant industrial advance as being possibly more open, accommodative to ideological diversity, pluralistic in character. On the other hand, as indicated, young teachers and young people generally (to judge by the responses of SN students) while desirous of the benefits which come with "modernity" lack this type of philosophical commitment, nor do they seem to possess what might be considered a scientific attitude or frame of mind. Nor are younger teachers passionately interested in the socio-political world around them: not many among them keep up with the news, for example, or read widely, or when reading show affinity for serious intellectual fare. And again, age and tenure in the profession seem to bring the teacher closer to meeting the systemic expectation that he be active, cultured, politically and socially "engaged." However, what would be most worrisome to the system is the obvious pro-religious stance of the teachers within the youngest age group, and the intensity of their religious commitments -- whether this commitment is a result of traditional and primary group influences (e.g., the family) or the result of antisystemic attitudes (reinforced through peer group association). As far as pro-religious attitudes are concerned, teachers of workingclass background generally maintain lesser ties with the Church than teachers of intelligentsia and, particularly, of rural peasant background. However, teachers of workingclass background who do maintain Church ties manifest their religiosity (in terms of actual attendance at Mass, special services, confession, etc.) much more intensely than teachers of rural peasant background of similarly high self-rated ties to the Church. The latter have learned from childhood on in some cases to adjust their religiosity to the convenience or lack of convenience attendant participation in Church activities -- e.g., proximity to Church, weather, lack of time, etc. Moreover, teachers of peasant background who continue to reside and work in rural areas are sensitive to community sentiments and to their own role as representatives of the political system although they themselves may harbor pro-religious feelings; they, and teachers in small towns also, have grounds to fear visibility and possible repercussion resulting from their Church attendance. Consequently, fewer teachers of peasant background than of workingclass background regularly participate in Church functions. Church attendance among workingclass religious teachers is, in fact, higher than among religious teachers of other backgrounds, especially in large metropolitan areas where one could more easily acquire some anonymity. In summary, though, it would appear that the classes and groups -- at least as far as teachers are concerned -- upon whom the system could pin most of its hopes are indeed among the most disappointing from the system's point of view -- that is, the young who were fully educated under the new system, those of peasant background and the religiously oriented among those of workingclass background. Yet, as indicated by its ideological premises these are the classes and groups which should be most loyal to the system and on whose behalf the Party claims its authority. However, religion aside, in terms of power, continuity of authority and security, it is those of workingclass and peasant background who manifest the highest degree of loyalty and conformity. It is they to whom the system has given the opportunity to acquire professional status and to enter the ranks of the intelligentsia -- to become, in fact, the New Intelligentsia. The question though is whether such loyalty and conformity is deep enough to withstand the test of a crisis situation, that is, whether it involves complete socialization into the system's values and norms -- much of it evolved from the particular ideology -- rather than mere conformity to a given power and authority structure.

The seeming unreliability of the youngest teachers -- since they neither meet the ideological expectations nor conform to accepted political authority demands -- who were educated under the new system and presumably much more exposed to the new values than their older colleagues may be due precisely to the over-exposure to officially sanctioned oratory attendant their own education, rendering their own socialization counterproductive. Yet, at the same time, some of the secular and sociopolitical education they have received has become internalized in the young. While religious, the *quality* of their religion is not quite the same as that of religious teachers within the older generation -- as expressed in matters of sex, cultural consumption patterns, general life-style, etc. Thus if the youngest among the teachers should in any way be indicative about the future of Polish society-at-large this future is very uncertain indeed: *religious but not very orthodox, exposed to socialism but not really socialist, exposed to technology and scientificism without assimilating a scientific frame of mind, they have nevertheless absorbed some value aspects of all of these phenomena*, however superficially. Certainly, as the young teachers become older and gain tenure in the profession they will become more accommodative and "stabilized" but then the "stabilization" may very well take the form of crystalization and perpetuation of their present outlook which has the ingredients of traditionalism, political and technological "modernity" but is, in fact, neither.

People's Poland faces the dilemma faced by most other political systems but particularly aggravated in systems formally committed to a single ideological belief: that is, whether superior weight should be given to expertise or to political loyalty. Ideally, the system would prefer the experts to be politically loyal and vice-versa. However, experts even in times of normalcy develop functional group interests which may bring them into conflict with systemic demands and expectations, and the propensity for conflict is even greater in times of transition when, in addition to the functional interests of his occupational group, the individual expert may also be the carrier of non-occupational values which would prevent his full ideological socialization. Generally, as much as the system needs the expert, political (not necessarily ideological) considerations win out in confrontation. Such political considerations may be due to tactical, administrative or economic exigencies, including foreign policy obligations and domestic considerations. Therefore, policy decisions are often adopted which run contra to the findings derived from the inter-subjective research paid for by the very government which later ignores them in favor of politically rooted rationales. And, especially in the social sciences and humanities, texts are frequently being changed or altered merely to suit the requirements of a changing political line, taxing the economy, the distribution facilities, and the readiness of teachers to "perform." Consequently, while texts undergo change, while formal guidelines are altered, much of the treatment of a given subject matter in the classroom remains the same as it always was, traditional, since it is harder to flex a living educational instrument, a teacher, than it is a formal textbook.

Although teaching is considered an intelligentsia profession, most teachers in Poland derive from traditional non-intelligentsia background. It is a profession most attractive to youth of smalltown workingclass background and of rural peasant-farmer origin. Children of "old-line" intelligentsia background seem to prefer careers in what was traditionally called the "free professions" (e.g., medicine, law, the arts, etc.) and, if teaching, on the academic level, including university teaching and research. Universities and Higher Schools of Pedagogy have, however, a disproportionate intelligentsia representation within their student bodies as do most other professional training schools of traditional prestige. Significantly, as in the past, theological academies and seminaries -- along with the low prestige teachers' colleges of the SN type -- continue to be the schools where students of intelligentsia background are underrepresented and where youth of peasant or workingclass background predominate. Therefore, the overrepresentation of intelligentsia youth in the professional training centers of prestige and their underrepresentation among the staffs of the secondary schools of general education indicates that once those of traditional "lower" class background have overcome the various obstacles erected in their path towards upward mobility and have finally gained entrance into institutions of general secondary education, first, and higher learning, second -- institutions which by force of circumstance are on the higher prestige levels and generally geared to favor the intelligentsia youth -- those of traditional "inferior" class background are virtually channelled into teaching whereas, once more, youth of intelligentsia background has available to itself a greater variety of professional career choices, and if they decide on education they choose the more prestigious areas of education work (e.g., university, etc.). Conversely, youth of intelligentsia background compelled to enter the SN types of teachers' training colleges, first, and the teaching profession, second -- aside from those of extreme idealistic orientation or those who choose this career route for some idiosyncratic reasons -- would appear to be less gifted intellectually than their social background peers who chose the normally more "glamorous" (for that class) career route. Of all the professions, teaching and particularly lower level teaching (especially in the provinces), seems to be the most vulnerable to various pressures and pulls, often at odds with each other. The teacher, especially in provincial towns and rural villages, is liable to step on many toes and aggravate many sensitivities: as representative of the secular system he confronts the Church, the priest, and the still influential but religious segments of the community; he faces the students and parents who perceive him as a block to their offspring's future and career; he may easily run afoul of his own school administration; he is forced into social activism which is rarely related to his primary function, that is, work in the school. In his social, civic and political activities the teacher is often assigned the least popular tasks since elected local officials are careful not to unduly aggravate community sensitivities and prefer to expose an "outsider" to the community, one they perceive to be an *ex-officio* agent of the system. At the same time -- again because of his *ex-officio* role -- in the course of his social activism, the teacher is assigned organizational roles of auxiliary importance (e.g., that of recording secretary, organizer, etc.) while the representative and formal leadership roles are given to persons of prestige and status (and officially approved class background) drawn from the population indigenous to the community. Yet, it is the teacher-sociopolitical activist who is less inhibited in speaking out and complaining than the teacher who tends to withdraw into his primary occupational work alone as well as into his personal privacy. The former, while relegated to secondary role in a particular sociopolitical organizational hierarchy, nevertheless feels quite "at home" with the system, and if, aggrieved, free to complain. He views himself as the important cog of the systemic machine, however insignificant in appearance. Generally, whether because of political considerations or administrative inefficiency and inertia, there seems to be a tendency to underutilize (if not misutilize) available cadres, neglecting the skills that they do possess. The very policy of demotion to lower educational teaching level of highly specialized professional personnel who have run into disfavor -- either because of politics or organizational insubordination -- is a manifestation of such misuse of the talents and skills that are available. This characteristic is again related to the aforementioned dilemma of expertise vs. political loyalty. In any confrontation between the two, the latter considerations are likely to win out -- but it should be stressed once more that the "political loyalty" under consideration is not necessarily related to ideological faithfulness but rather to the politics of organizational and authority interests. A threat to the system is not necessarily one posited in opposing ideological terms but rather one "endangering" established authority, its dignity, prestige or claim to superior administrative and policy wisdom. This preoccupation with prestige, and in the case of political and administrative authority, with its own prestige, may explain the reasons why persons of diametrically opposed ideological orientations (e.g., religious persons) often fare better than those who, while accepting the system's ideological premises, challenge or otherwise "embarrass" the established authority, questioning or ridiculing its wisdom. Ideological challenges are delivered often in the abstract and are perceived as aiming at an abstract target, as it were, while authority challenges are taken very personally by those in charge. However, more often than not, the authority feeling threatened enlists in its defense ideological props, tries to identify itself with the ideology and, turning the tables, portray the challenger as an ideological deviant. The ideology comes in handy in the process of authority legitimization and the extraction of obedience. As Professor S. N. Eisenstadt remarks in discussing the various phenomena attendant the development of new political systems:

> Autonomous developments of outlying centers of power and the stabilization of new political groups or interests were viewed by the elite as interfering with the stabilization of the new basic institutional framework and with universal allegiance to the new common symbols.[6]

Although Eisenstadt referred primarily to newly emergent independent nations, the applicability of his comments seem to be appropriate for the situation in People's Poland. A new system is in the process of being established there, complete with a set of new symbols derived from that system's formal ideology. What is not always clear is whether the authority of the system once in power guards against real or potential challenges in an effort to guard the inviolibility of the symbols or because it feels its interest threatened by competing group interests and enlists the symbols for its own self-protective purposes. Both elements may very well enter into the picture. In Poland claims based upon expertise knowledge are seen as challenges to the supreme political authority, the Party bureaucracy, which claims an expertise knowledge all its own: superior political wisdom. Therefore, in any confrontation between educational authorities and political Party authorities the former will give way to the latter. However, should an individual teacher in turn challenge the educational authorities without the _a priori_ approval of the Party, the latter will come to the defense of the "endangered" school authorities, as if in defense of the authority principle in itself, as if out of a sense of authority solidarity. As one teacher interviewed commented: "In the final analysis each of us stands alone with all the forces of society allied against him, one hand washing the other." Konstanty Grzybowski in writing of the relationship between scientists and academicians, on the one hand, and the political authority, on the other, points out:

> As a citizen [the scientist] must declare whether he accepts the ideological principles and political objectives which the politician represents. Conflict arises if the majority of academics or the professors with the decisive say in these matters set a course which is "at odds with the political aspirations of the remaining sections of the population." There is no compounding such a deadlock and science is invariably on the losing end since it cannot develop in opposition to the political objectives of the nation; but a price has also to be paid by society since the reconditioning of the political mentality of the academics is not an easy undertaking and cannot be accomplished without losses and a temporary lowering of standards. Thus a good politician is one who proceeds cautiously in such a situation and does not rush his fences; only then can he impart to science and higher education the social complexion he wants.[7]

By Grzybowski's criteria those in charge of the Polish system would not appear to be the best of "politicians." As in the case of the head-on confrontation between the Party and Church hierarchy which characterized the year 1966 -- as to which had greater authority to speak for the nation during that Millenium year -- so in the aftermath of the Spring, 1968, events the politician "rushed his fences" against the intellectual, scientific and academic community, courting in the process a "lowering of standards," however temporary. In defense of authority, standards of excellence in scientific, educational or economic planning may indeed be sacrificed. To indicate, however, the extent to which primary and secondary levels of education and those working on these levels are considered to be less worthy and less socially prestigious within the total educational picture than the higher academic levels and scientists and university professors is that, while in purging the latter, attempts are made to mobilize public opinion by the political authority, a purge of the former is conducted quietly and without fear of societal repercussions.

The relatively small underground Communist Party of prewar Poland, presently known -- after having merged in 1948 with the Socialists -- as the Polish United Workers' Party is the dominant political force in the country. It is a mass membership Party and only 34 percent of its present membership belonged to either the Polish Socialist Party or the Polish Workers' Party (Communist) prior to the merger -- and most of the 34 percent were members of the former. Significantly, although the Party purports to be a workingclass organization and to govern on behalf of the workers and peasants, intelligentsia representation is proportionately higher within the ranks than workingclass representation and much higher than peasant-farmer representation. Teachers constitute the bulk of intelligentsia members of the Party -- in December, 1963, 74,900 teachers belonged to the Party, that is, 5 percent of a total membership of 1,491,100.[8] In power, in control over government administration, the bulk of the economic enterprises in the public sector, and the institutions of learning, membership in the Party holds forth a great many material attractions and rewards to persons of ambition. The bulk of its membership falls between the ages of 25 and 49, that is, the age of career formation in an individual's life. The ratio of males to females is almost 5 to 1 (252,500 females as against 1,238,600 males). The Basic Party Organization in each administrative unit, school, or enterprise consists therefore of the most active, involved persons who take an unusual interest in their respective places of employment.

But having become a mass membership Party of particular attraction to the upward driving and ambitious within the system, holding out the rewards for loyal membership that it does, it has by force of circumstances (rather than ideological conviction) incorporated into its ranks persons who themselves are not socialized into the values which the Party officially tries to foster. When asked some respondents indicated that they are indeed members of the Party, have a Party card, but were rather quick to add, quite unsolicited, that they are not Communists. To many, especially within the governmental bureaucracy, Party membership may serve as a substitute for education which would be normal basis for claim to position for a non-Party member. Only 6 percent of the Party membership has attained higher education, 22 percent secondary education, 52 finished elementary school only, while 20 percent did not even complete elementary education. Thus the portrait of the Party member is one who is work and authority oriented, formally not highly educated, who is active and presumably loyal to the organization even though not necessarily assimilated into the ideology, its premises and the values that emerge from them. Many of those who have joined the ranks of the Party for career reasons after it assumed power in the country probably would have joined whatever party might have been in power. To others, membership in the Party is an expression of loyal patriotism, of allegiance to the Fatherland since the Party is in charge of the Fatherland, and the ideological coloration of the Party is of lesser importance to them. To still others, the Party represents reality, a reality with which they have made peace and, being by nature activists and "joiners," they feel that it is through the Party that they can contribute the most to present Polish society. There are also many idealists and confirmed believers in the ideology, no doubt. Significantly, in the ongoing confrontation between the "experts" and the "politicians" it is not the Party idealists but most frequently, it seems, rather those who primarily see in the Party an organized authority structure whose prerogatives are to be jealously guarded against real or imaginary threat who insist most stubbornly on the principle of "politics first" and "expertise second." The ideologist and the idealist committed as he is to the long-range goals may see the eventual benefits to these goals from seemingly not politically "convenient" (in terms of the short-range objectives or policies) research findings, from education for its own sake, or from literature written for pure esthetic enjoyment but not containing an immediately discernable political purpose. On the other hand, the Party official whose primary concern is for the authority of the organization with which he identifies himself senses in such "uncontrolled" activities a threat to authority, including his own.

Although teachers are expected to be socio-politically active and "involved," few of them belong to various social and civic organizations although they are ex-officio drawn into the activities of these organizations. Not many belong to the Party either but those who do belong to some organization (aside from the Teachers' Union) seem to prefer membership in the Party. However, since the Party is involved in the activities of the other civic and social organizations of the community, the teachers drawn into social activism become indirectly involved in "political" and Party-related work even though they themselves are not formal members. Most teachers seem to resent these activities which draw them away from their primary professional obligations, their families, and their favorite leisure time activity. Teachers, especially in large metropolitan areas, seem to place a great deal of stress on their leisure time activities while those in the provinces are either drawn, pressured, or, because of other existing circumstances, become enveloped in an extensive range of sociopolitical activities which consume much of their time. During interviews teachers also expressed resentment of Party and administrative interferences in their jobs and life patterns, and they especially resented the interferences of the nonidealists who seem to be particularly eager to exercise whatever authority is vested in them and to take such authority seriously. Some respondents during in-depth interviews referred to the authority-oriented nonidealist bureaucratsas "tępaki" (literally "dullards" but used as an equivalent to the American expression "hack").

There is some evidence that if a teacher is being punished or disciplined for serious infraction of the expected behavior pattern for a member of the profession, adult members of his immediate family may suffer as well. The repercussions are usually in the form of denial of promotion, transfer to a lower paying post of less prestige in the provinces, etc. Some of those so disciplined may eventually become "rehabilitated," especially if political circumstances change or a policy to which the disciplined teacher took exception in the past has become altered. However, even in the case of rehabilitation and reinstitution to previous position, feelings of personal bitterness and disappointment remainand these are particularly strong, it seems, among those who were originally most committed, loyal, and socialized.

The most frequent difficulties a teacher encounters will not be directly with the Party authorities or with other agencies of government but rather with his own school administration which considers itself obligated to police teacher behavior. Quite often the teacher sees himself as intellectually superior to those in educational administration who, he suspects, have attained their positions (and higher pay, however slightly so) by virtue of "connections," "pull," political activism rather than professional excellence in the field of education. When a teacher runs afoul of authority within the larger system, the school authorities will rarely come to his defense but would rather side with the "powers." The Teachers' Union which is usually active in campaigning for higher salaries for teachers, better housing, superior welfare provisions, and exhibits concern over matters involving the prestige of the profession within the community will seldom assist the individual teacher if his difficulties are somewhat political in nature. On the general plane, removed from problems directly affecting the individual teacher, there seems to be a schism between the educational planners and the educational executors, i.e., the working classroom teachers. The latter resent not being consulted in drawing up curriculum plans, time tables for the realization of such plans, textbook revisions, etc. This lack of coordination results from a strict adherence within the organizational structure concerned with education to the principle of "division of labor." There is a strict functional role differentiation with the exception, of course, of the Party whose role is not strictly delineated in functional terms but calls for supervision over the activities and plans in all functional areas of the system -- be it economic, educational, administrative, cultural, or whatever. However, as far as the teachers are concerned the division of labor between the educational planners and those charged with executing the plans, results in a lack of coordination with subsequent repercussions in the classrooms. It was often pointed out that educational plans are drawn and adopted only to discover later that there is a lack of personnel trained and qualified to implement these plans.

For its own sake, in order to attain its stated goals -- provided that those in charge of the system are earnest about their aims -- curriculum changes in nearly all disciplines are obviously needed. The system itself, however, the way it is structured, inhibits change. The principle of "supremacy of politics" makes the change necessary but by instilling mistrust of the expert, it delegates responsibility for approval of change to the Party and responsibility of execution to the expert who, in turn, has misgivings about the politician. The politician himself is often in the Party for the "wrong" reasons -- from an ideological point of view -- and often lacks the capacity to understand the expert's language. This combination of lack of capacity or ability to understand coupled with mistrust makes the politician suspicious of any kind of change suggested by the "nonpolitical" expert, inhibiting the latter from even trying. It is not until the system succeeds in socializing its future cadres so that the experts are also "political" and the trusted politician himself thoroughly socialized, is simultaneously a specialist in a specific field that hoped for changes maximizing the possibilities towards goal attainment could seriously be considered and adopted. One of the goals is to bring about an optimum level of socialization into the values, ideals and norms that the system espouses. As long as the present condition of dichotomization and partial socialization exists the changes undertaken would continue to be in the area of technical innovation and changes in administrative arrangement but would not attempt to cut deep into the sociocultural fabric. That is why despite talk of change things are being done very much in the traditional manner and this traditionalism is most evident within the educational enterprise.

If rather than wealth, family connection, traditional class membership, or any of the other traditional factors, education instead is to become -- as the system claims the goal to be -- the only vehicle for an individual's upward mobility, and criteria related to education (including "character education") are to be the only ones in deciding human fortunes, then the opportunities for education must be distributed on an equal basis among all socio-economic groups and classes and among all areas of the country. Lack of equality in educational opportunities, given these premises, means the perpetuation of some form of class and status differentiation. Twenty years after the establishment of the new system, educational opportunities are far from being equalized and the existing social structure is still very much similar to the patterns of stratification which existed prior to the new system -- very much because the opportunities for education are weighted in favor of the classes and groups of traditional privilege (e.g., the intelligentsia, the large urban populations, etc.). The problem is compounded by the continuation of traditional educational prestige models which rather than emphasizing vocational training emphasize humanities, areas of traditional intelligentsia pursuit and excellence. To be sure, efforts were made to encourage sons and daughters of workingclass or peasant background to continue the process of education and something was done to enable them to do so (e.g., providing special credits and preferential quotas for youth of workingclass or peasant background in secondary and higher institutions of learning) -- but these administrative measures were unable to solve the problem on a truly mass scale nor, subsequently, were they capable of affecting radical and basic changes in the existing class structure.

At the root of the problem is the system's unwillingness or inability to place adequate resources into the organization of education so that it may indeed be able to provide opportunities for quality education to all. Despite talk of education as the only rational (from a socialist standpoint) and legitimate vehicle for individual advancement, resource allocations into education remain far behind allocations in other social areas, primarily that of industrial expansion. In allocating resources, preference seems to be given to short-range and immediately visible benefits rather than towards the attainment of long-range stated goals. By maintaining the 60:40 percent ratio of investments into education much of the burden (i.e., the burden of providing 40 percent of the cost) was placed on localities which are simply not financially able to provide adequately for quality education for all citizens in the area. Consequently, the temptation even within the local community is to invest in economic enterprises which produce a quick and visible return. Such investments become a pattern, a policy, and thus rather than turning the profits over to education, the tendency is to reinvest in still more income-producing undertakings. Despite oratory on the need and importance of education and the prestige accorded within the culture to the educated person, education does not seem to be the high priority item it is alleged to be in the eyes of many Party officials who are themselves only partially schooled in many instances but who exercise an often decisive voice in matters of resource allocation.

Within the educational structure, investment preference is accorded to institutions of learning on the higher levels rather than on lower levels. Even in terms of pay, the school moves dramatically upward with the level of the educational institutions, with teachers on the elementary school level being among the lowest paid employees within the public economic section and teachers at the university level enjoying relatively high remuneration (but still far below top industrial management personnel). These conditions within the educational system itself, however, reflect the priority hierarchy existing within the system -- a priority hierarchy which is not necessarily reflected in formal programmatic statements but which results from conflicting desires and contending interest pulls. The system's leadership claims a desire for a rapid attainment of socialism and a concomitant drive towards industrialization and technological progress. In actuality the latter seems to gain preference over the former desire. Higher investment in higher education and professional training reflects the drive towards industrialization and technological progress and the related need for the development of skilled personnel -- although, as in other areas, here too the intent is very much cancelled out by the persistance of traditional patterns and prestige models which compel young people to seek higher education in the humanities, arts and social sciences rather than in disciplines more directly related to the needs of the industrial economy. On the other hand, if the system were indeed as intent on the achievement of socialism as it claims to be, or if it were to place upon that goal as much stress as it does on industrialization, it would invest in the lower educational levels at least as much as it does in higher professional training institutions -- since the process of socialization into the values of a socialist society should be initiated at the very beginning of the educational enterprise for it to take root. Similarly, investments in the institutions of teachers' training lag behind investments in technically oriented training centers or in universities -- yet, if serious about socialism and the assimilation of its values, the school needs highly qualified pedagogues for this purpose who are themselves fully socialized into the goals of the system. From the point of view of the socialist goals of the system -- if meant in earnest -- it would seem that investment in the beginning levels of education and in teachers' training should at the very least be placed on a par with investment in other areas of education. In reality, the elementary and secondary schools are bound by tradition, the teachers on these levels are poorly paid, and the institutions training teachers for these levels, especially the elementary level, enjoy low prestige and are generally considered to be of low competence and, again, are bound to traditional educational patterns. As one interviewee said: "The SN's claim to be socialist institutions and, of course, secular. They are neither."

In his address on the second day of the Congress of Polish Culture (October 8, 1966), Professor Jan Szczepański emphasized, as others have before him, the "enormous role of the elementary and secondary schools and of the teachers of these schools in the process of uplifting the cultural level of society." He stressed the importance of equalizing the quality of education available to the different segments and strata of society in order to decrease the "cultural persecution" of students from rural and smalltown environments; that teachers themselves ought to be given access to cultural facilities and cultural values.[9] In his numerous private conversations with this author, Professor Szczepański often expressed the conviction that perhaps within a decade secondary education will become universal for the youth of the country. To judge, however, by existing tendencies, including those related to investment and allocation priorities, the future would seem to hold out further perpetuation of the traditional patterns with regard to universalization of secondary education and also with respect to equalization of the quality of learning available to the various areas and social strata. The most frequently advanced arguments in defense of existing conditions is that Poland is a poor country, after all, that it is only presently really entering the industrial age, and that it is still suffering from the devastation brought on by war as well as by the persistence of traditional values and patterns. The last argument seems to be essentially the closest to explaining the continuance of a traditional educational pattern, but the removal of that cause itself hinges upon the willingness or ability to radically restructure the school system. Changing values and patterns, the inculcation of new norms, would stand a better chance if education were indeed available to all, and new socialized generations would emerge from an altered school system employing teachers who have graduated from qualitatively upgraded teachers' training centers. As to the other economy-related arguments -- poverty, repercussions of war, industrialization -- in the final analysis it boils down to the extent of the system's commitment to socialism, modernity, and to education as its "natural handmaiden." The resources, however scarce, the country, however poor, once essential rebuilding from the devastation of war and occupation was completed -- once the cities emerged from the rubble and the ashes, and a minimum of housing had been provided -- a greater effort in the area of education could have been afforded some time ago, even from the little that was available. The real problem is that in practice education received lower priority thus putting in doubt the commitment of the system to a radical restructuring of society. To be sure, the ideology of socialism (especially Marxist socialism) posits industrialization and technological progress as a goal as well as a precondition for the realization of some of its most essential values, and, certainly, advancement in the area of industry and technology meant economic betterment, security and international prestige. However, there were other investment areas -- besides industry and technology -- which received higher priority than education or from which resources could have been diverted to educational purposes without affecting the country's wellbeing, security, or prestige. For reasons of pride, prestige, and in order to meet its obligation as member of the Warsaw Pact Poland at the present maintains a huge military apparatus, modern and mechanized and far different from the cavalry-dominated army which faced the Germans in September, 1939. Yet, the system relies for its defense against external threat (and, in the final analysis, internal threat as well) on the military might of its neighbor to the East, the Soviet Union, and this point is repeatedly emphasized as being at the cornerstone of the Republic's foreign policy -- that for the first time in its history the country has a reliable ally against any possible threat from the West, particularly from German attempts for new aggression. Poland, while a recipient of foreign economic aid (primarily from the U.S.S.R. but also from the United States and Canada), is itself involved in foreign economic assistance to "underdeveloped" countries in Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. Primarily due to considerations of international politics, People's Poland has offered generous long-term credits to a number of countries in Asia and Africa, credits which carry 2.5 percent annual interest but are repayable in the form of imports from the credit-receiving countries of their traditional export goods (e.g., brocade from India, handicrafts from Indonesia, etc.). Poland has joined other countries in a number of geological expeditions and has undertaken similar expeditions on its own. Certain aspects of Poland's cultural exchange program seem to be a deficit venture since it involves the sending of technical experts, physicians, and scientists -- badly needed at home -- to such countries as Afghanistan, Ghana, Iraq, Cambodia, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, Togo and others, in addition to the training of foreign students (primarily from African and Arab countries) at Polish institutions of higher learning which are unable to accommodate even the graduates from the country's own secondary schools. These are only several of the areas which drain resources which could otherwise be made available towards the universalization of secondary education and the upgrading of the quality of education on all levels. As it is now, many rural villages lack even a complete elementary school.

Moreover, apparently no serious thoughts were given by Polish educational planners to such practical measures which may equalize educational opportunities as, for example, a system of bussing children and youth from an educationally underprivileged locality to one with more generously endowed facilities. Given the relative short distances between villages and towns, between small towns and larger cities -- at normal speed and in normal weather it takes only a very few hours to traverse the entire East-West length of Poland by automobile -- and the difficulties encountered in the construction of school buildings and dormitories, a system of bussing could alleviate the difficulties in implementing the objective of equal educational opportunities for all. As it is, the schools lack busses themselves but must rely on busses provided by the individual school patrons, the economic enterprises within a given community. The schools may use these transportation facilities only at the convenience of the latter (who use them for their own purposes on weekdays), and when available to the schools they are usually utilized for excursions, field trips, or to transport children and youth from outlying regions to the capital, Warsaw, so that they may participate in various festivities -- e.g., the Holiday of Rebirth of the Republic, etc.

On the other hand, the purchase of sufficient busses by a school district may involve no less expenditure of resources than the construction of adequate elementary school buildings in every single locality, staffing them with well-trained personnel, and the construction in given centrally located communities within each district of adequate secondary schools with dormitories (internaty) sufficient to accommodate all elementary school graduates. In fact, the dormitories could be large and spacious enough to accommodate under one roof both general education and vocational secondary school students thereby contributing to the elimination of the status barriers presently existing between the two. The extent to which education is at present a low priority item is perhaps most evidenced by the fact that during 1966 when a popular fund-raising campaign was launched under the slogan, "1,000 New Schools for the 1,000th Anniversary," relatively few new schools were actually constructed that year and even schools which were contemplated in the normal course of expansion still remained on the planning boards when school year 1966-67 began. Education in Poland could also benefit from a tightening up of the administrative process involved in school construction.

Although a network of adult education facilities was established, there continues to be a lack of a meaningful program -- meaningful in the sense of providing tangible career benefit, a second chance, as it were -- of education for adults and "late bloomers," many of whom are discouraged by the system of repeating an examination once taken and failed. As it is practiced, the system of examinations, the difficulties encountered in entering a university or a higher professional training institution -- and given the prevailing patterns of prestige and status geared towards education and membership in a profession -- only serve to perpetuate a system which is *highly stratified and structured along the lines of class and status*, the system's claims to socialism notwithstanding.

As far as the teaching profession itself is concerned, teachers in Poland seem to share with teachers in other political systems very much the same kinds of problems, aspirations, and values.

At the beginning of this study five related *hypotheses* were posited. Some were fully verified by this study, others only with qualifications, and in the case of one hypothesis especially the data on hand were not of sufficient strength to either confirm or disconfirm.

1. It was assumed that professional group norms (including commitment to disciplinary specialization) would tend to lessen the teacher's ability to internalize the system's ideological values and thus rend him, presumably, inefficient in the process of transmission of such values to students. Secondary school teachers who consider themselves *subject matter specialists* rather than educational generalists and who in the main are mathematicians or physical scientists reacted rather *negatively* -- from the system's point of view -- to statements reflecting the dichotomies of State-Church and religion-ideology. Their own position -- much more than that of the educational generalists or the teachers who consider themselves both educators and specialists -- on questions of moral and ethical valuation as well as certain aspects of educational policy tended to reflect traditionalism and to favor the position of the Church rather than that of the Party or ideology. On the other hand, these teachers -- more so than the educational generalists or those who identified themselves as both educators and specialists -- were sympathetic to the scientific-technological goals of the system but, most likely, for different reasons. While formally the system sees scientific and technological progress as part and

parcel of its ideology-rooted objectives and premises, the teachers-subject matter specialists perceive conditions created as a result of scientific-technological progress as favoring development of pluralism and the diminishing of politicization. On the other hand, adherance to the norms of the larger professional teaching collectivity appears to *strengthen* commitment to the system rather than to weaken it. Consequently, this hypothesis was partially confirmed and partially disconfirmed.

2. Older teachers and teachers of long tenure in the profession show greater acceptance of systemic demands, values, and expectations than younger teachers or teachers of shorter tenure in the profession although the latter (that is, those of younger age and/or short tenure) have been educated wholly under the new system while the former have been educated, in the main, under presystemic conditions. On the whole, this hypothesis was proven and *from the system's point of view this would appear to be a most worrisome conclusion. It may indicate that the socialization efforts to which younger teachers were exposed in the course of their own education turned out to be, in the final analysis, counterproductive. Age and tenure do influence a teacher's attitude towards greater accommodation and acceptance of systemic demands, values and goals*. What is not quite certain is whether *presystemic education* is an *additional* contributing factor towards such acceptance since many of the older teachers and those of longer tenure received at least part of their own professional training, because of interruptions caused by war and occupation, under the new system.

3. Factors of social background (including class origin, urban or rural residence, church affiliation, etc.) impede or facilitate the teachers' internalization of the "ideological" values and the efficiency of their transmission to students. *Teachers of provincial smalltown workingclass*

background seem to be the most amenable to the system's ideological appeals, especially as these relate to the sensitive area of State-Church relations. Teachers of traditional middle class and (private) entrepreneureal background seem to be the most resistant, followed by teachers of peasant-farm and rural background. Teachers of intelligentsia and big city background maintain a position in between these two groups on the issue of religion. On the whole, however, a majority of teachers within each social background category still maintains some ties with the Church, for example, although the system looks upon this with disfavor, especially as far as teachers are concerned. While fewer teachers of workingclass background maintain ties with the Church, those who do maintain such ties exceed in the intensity of their religious orientation (as manifested by attendance at Mass, other Church services, as well as confession and communion) the intensity of teachers of other class backgrounds, peasant background included. In terms of urban-rural background the intensity of proreligious and pro-Church orientation does not show appreciable differences although those of general provincial smalltown origin show somewhat lower intensity levels. On the question of how such background affects the teacher's efficiency in the process of socializing his students into the values and goals of the system, data is lacking relating directly the two variables (i.e., background and efficiency). However, one would logically assume that teachers who are themselves not fully socialized into the system's values would not be able to perform at an optimum as socializers of others. When the teachers themselves were questioned as to the suitability of religiously-oriented teachers in meeting systemic expectations, the responses were varied, indicating a selectivity with respect to the types of expectations. While generally judged "fit" by their non-religious colleagues as well as by themselves, they were seen as being more suitable in the expectation of "helping build socialism" than in some other areas, especially in those touching directly upon the religious-secular dichotomy.

4. Among teachers of comparably advanced age (46 years and over), those trained after World War II manifest a higher commitment to the official educational values than those trained prior to World War II. The underlying assumption in formulating this hypothesis was that older teachers would feel a sense of gratitude toward the system for having enabled them to enter a profession at a rather advanced stage in life. Presumably such teachers would be recruited from among activists of workingclass or peasant background whose chances under the preceding system were minimal and whose education -- if propelled by ambition -- would have been interrupted by war and occupation. However the number of persons within the 46-50 age category was only 29 and those over the age of 50 numbered 22 -- a total of 51 persons in the advanced age groups. The actual number of those over the age of 46 and educated after World War II was so insignificant in the sample as to preclude any meaningful conclusions for that group. However, in the course of in-depth interviews teachers who fell into this category gave the general impression of having a higher level of commitment than teachers of similar age who received their education during a more or less "normal" period of life, and most definitely higher than the commitment encountered among younger teachers who received all of their education under the present system.

5. Among teachers trained after World War II, the younger teachers are less committed to the official educational values than are the older teachers. The validity of this hypothesis was borne out in repeated tests in a variety of value areas (secularism, scientificism, sex morality, etc.).

Commitment to official systemic values and goals as a rule does decrease with lower age. Even among the students in the teachers' training colleges of the SN type, those younger in age showed lower levels of commitment than those of somewhat older age. This failure to involve the very youngest of the teachers (and student-teachers) in the complex of systemic values, norms, and goals may indeed put into question the ability of the system to affect a greater degree of socialization in the future which would enable it to achieve its stated goals more effectively.

With the socializers being themselves only partially socialized, or not at all, the future for Poland seems to be a prolonged period of transition, with contending forces -- representing competing values, norms and behavioral styles -- having to choose either combat and tension or, alternately, co-existence and some form of extended modus-vivendi. There are indications, however, that where the forces representing the new system are placed in cohabitation and accommodation with the forces of the traditional culture, the former give way to the latter. But there are also some indications that except for some idealists those who are by virtue of ambition or occupational function placed in a position to represent the system do not really mind "giving in" as long as their authority positions and prestige are preserved in the process.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

[1] Jan Woskowski, *O pozycji społecznej nauczyciela* (Łódź: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe for the Center for Sociological Research, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, 1964), p. 172.

[2] See *Orędzie biskupów polskich do biskupów niemieckich: Materiały i dokumenty* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Polonia, 1966), p. 121.

[3] Pope Pious XI, "The Christian Education of Youth" in *Secondary Education: Origins and Directions*, Robert O. Hahn and David B. Bidna, eds. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), p. 144.

[4] Both of these outcomes emerge as behavioral possibilities from studies conducted in Warsaw by the Center for Research on Public Opinion of the Warsaw Radio, by Father Wileński, on rural youth by Konstanty Judenko, and by J. Legowski among workers in the Wola District of Warsaw. See Tadeusz M. Jaroszewski, "Dynamika praktyk religijnych i podstaw światopoglądowych w Polsce w świetle badań socjologicznych" in *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* quarterly (Warsaw), Vol. X, No. 1, January-March, 1966, pp. 133-149.

[5] See, for example, Jerzy J. Wiatr, *Czy zmierzch ery ideologii? Problemy polityki i ideologii w świecie współczesnym* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1966), pp. 209-210.

[6] Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, *O światopogladzie i wychowaniu* (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1965), p. 21.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

[8] Jan Szczepański, "Osobowość ludzka w procesie powstania społeczeństwa socjalistycznego," *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* (Warsaw), Vol. VIII, No. 4, 1964, pp. 3-25.

[9] Wiatr, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

[10] As cited, Gusta Singer, *Teacher Education in a Communist State: Poland 1956-1961* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1965), p. 11.

[11] Janina Filipczak, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 109.

[12] As cited, Józef Szymański, *Rola Kierownika w doskonaleniu pracy szkoły podstawowej* (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1965), p. 47.

[13] Report of talk by Edward Gierek, Politburo member and First Secretary of the Katowice *Województwo* Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party at plenum meeting of that Committee at Katowice, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), April 17, 1966.

[14] See report on Mokotów District Committee plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party, *ibid.*, April 16, 1966. Mokotów is a district of the City of Warsaw.

[15] Marian Jurek and Edward Skrzypkowski, *Konfrontacje: Tradycjonalizm a współczesność w wychowaniu wojskowym* (Warsaw: MON, 1965), pp. 23-24.

[16] Clark Kerr et al., *Industrialism and Industrial Man: The Problems of Labor and Management in Economic Growth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1960), p. 36.

[17] *Rocznik Statystyczny 1966* (Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 1966), p. 598.

[18] Henryk Golański, "Planning for the Future," *Polish Perspectives*, English language edition (Warsaw), Vol. IX, No. 12, December, 1966, p. 26.

[19] *Marx: Engels: Marxism* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, fourth English edition, 1951), p. 534.

[20] See, for example, criticism voiced by the Harvard Report and by Admiral H. G. Rickover in Hahn and Bidna, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-22, 202-209.

[21] Jurek and Skrzypkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[22] See, for example, Kazimiera Muszalowna's report on the plenary session of the Polish Academy of Sciences in *Życie Warszawy*, May 27, 1966, as well as Konstanty Grzybowski, "Place in Society," *Polish Perspectives* (Warsaw), Vol. IX, No. 12, December 1966, pp. 43-49.

[23] Jan Szczepański, "Sociology 1968," *Polish Perspectives* (Warsaw), Vol. XII, No. 3, March, 1969, p. 30.

[24] For Polish voices in the debate, see Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz's talk at the Congress of Polish Culture, as reported in *Życie Warszawy*, October 8, 1966; Bohdan Suchodolski, *Społeczeństwo i kultura doby współczesnej a wychowanie: Zarys pedagogiki*, Vol. I (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1958), pp. 320-323; Jan Szczepański, "The State and the Planning of Higher Education," *Poland* (Warsaw), January, 1969, pp. 32-33, 50-51.

[25] Wojciech Polak, *Organizacja pracy domowej ucznia: Zagadnienia obsciążania* (Warsaw: Nasza Księgarnia, 1965), p. 18.

[26] Even on the level of higher academic and professional training the problem of coordinating existing or projected manpower needs with educational plans has encountered severe difficulties although various measures are adapted from time to time to bring about more effective coordination. Thus, for example, according to the needs within a certain professional or occupational field, enrollment into schools or departments training for that field will be either checked or encouraged. Also, a statute of February 25, 1954, and a decree of the Council of Ministers of June 13, 1964, obliges the graduate to spend at least three years on the

job to which he was assigned upon graduation so as to check the "loss" of trained manpower. The system of scholarships handed out by ministries, industrial enterprises, or unions obliges the scholarship recipient to pursue the occupation for which he was trained on the specific post assigned to him for a certain period of time.

[27] See the penetrating analysis of traditional Polish class structure in Czesław Miłosz's Native Realm: A Search for Self-Definition, trans. from the Polish by Catherine S. Leach (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1968), pp. 29-35.

[28] Willard Waller, The Sociology of Teaching (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965 edition), p. 40.

[29] See Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, Niezbadane ścieżki wychowania (Warsaw: Nasza Księgarnia, 1964), p. 185; Jan Woskowski, Nauczyciele szkół podstawowych z wyższym wykształceniem w szkole i poza szkołą (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe for the Inter-Institutional Center for Research on Higher Education, 1965), p. 100; Józef Kozłowski, Nauczyciel a zawód (Warsaw: Nasza Księgarnia, 1966), p. 187.

[30] Miłosz, op. cit., p. 31.

[31] Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, "Alergia nauczycielskiego zawodu," Fakty i Myśli, bi-weekly (Bydgoszcz), Vol. IX, No. 21 (193), November 1-15, 1966, pp. 1, 6-7.

[32] See Bernard Tejkowski, "Społeczność małego miasteczka Pomorza Zachodniego," Studia Socjologiczne, quarterly (Warsaw), Nr. 4, 1965, pp. 103-117; Zbigniew Kwiatkowski, Byłem niemilczącym świadkiem (Warsaw: Iskry, 1965), pp. 237-253; there are many other testimonies as to actual existence of these conditions, including those gathered from the in-depth interviews conducted by this author.

[33] Kwiatkowski, op. cit., p. 245; see also, for example, letter to the editor, "Głosiciel linii politycznej" in Polityka (Warsaw), Vol. V, Nr. 46 (506), November 12, 1966, p. 1.

[34] See Tadeusz Jackowski, "Miejsce młodej inteligencji: Pod milionowym dębem," Życie Warszawy, May 29-30, 1966, and Tejkowski, op. cit., p. 110.

[35] See Kwiatkowski, op. cit., p. 245.

[36] Woskowski, Nauczyciele szkół podstawowych z wyższym wykształceniem..., pp. 80-85. Dr. Woskowski's findings, based upon a questionnaire administered among 184 elementary school teachers with academic education, indicate that teachers select their social associations -- aside from family contacts -- on the basis of common interests held rather than on the basis of the formal educational level of the associates. His findings show further that close to half of the teachers of workingclass or peasant backgrounds continue to maintain contacts with persons still belonging to these classes, with females favoring such "old class" ties to a greater extent than males. Continuation of such ties is reduced among teachers

of self-employed artisan milieu. On the other hand, 50.0% among the female teachers of workingclass background do not maintain any contacts with persons outside of the intelligentsia and 76.5% of male teachers whose fathers were teachers themselves do not maintain contacts with non-intelligentsia persons. Unlike in the United States, career-orientation in East Europe is generally not viewed as a positive personal characteristic since it implies in popular perception single mindedness towards the pursuit of career goals at the exclusion of other values and interests; persons to whom such characteristics are ascribed are perceived as climbers, opportunists, and termed "careerists."

[37] Kozłowski, op. cit., p. 175.

[38] See speech by Edward Gierek at Regional Conference of Polish Teachers' Union at Katowice, June 17-18, 1966, as reported in Głos Nauczycielski, organ of PTU (Warsaw), June 26, 1966, pp. 5-6. Gierek informed the gathering that the Województwo authorities allocated 2,500,000 złotys worth of prizes to teacher-activists.

[39] Ibid.

[40] See, for example, Henryk Grynberg, "Pochodzenie społeczne czyli łapa," Kultura (Paris), Nr. 4/259, 1969, pp. 45-57, a fragment of his literary memoirs Życie ideologiczne (Ideological Life).

Chapter II

[1] As cited, Zygmunt Ratuszniak, "The System," Polish Perspectives, English language edition (Warsaw), Vol. IX, No. 12, December 1966, p. 6.

[2] As cited, The Polish Review (New York), Vol. XIV, No. 1, Winter, 1969, p. 95.

[3] Heliodor Muszyński, Teoretyczne problemy wychowania moralnego (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1965), p. 54.

[4] Editorial, Głos Nauczycielski, official weekly organ of Polish Teachers' Union (Warsaw), June 26, 1966, pp. 1, 3.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Personal interview with a vice-director of an Agricultural Technikum in K., Warsaw Województwo, Nov., 1966.

[7] See Błażej, "Rozmowy z Czytelnikami," Fakty i Myśli (Bydgoszcz), November 1-15, 1966), p. 7.

[8] Jerzy Bońkowicz-Sittauer, "Dlaczego się uczą?" Polityka (Warsaw), X,1 Nr. 46 (506), November 12, 1966, p. 4.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Główny Urząd Statystyczny. *Rocznik Statystyczny Szkolnictwa: 1944/45-1966-67*. Occupational Yearbooks Series No. 7 (Warsaw: 1967), p. 435.

[11] See Alfred G. Meyer, *Leninism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. P., 1957), p. 31.

[12] Anna Kornacka, "Matura i... co po maturze?" *Express Wieczorny* (Warsaw), July 13, 1966, p. 3.

[13] *Polityka* (Warsaw), Vol. X, Nr. 45 (505), November 5, 1966, p. 12.

[14] That examinations generate feelings of uneasiness was revealed to this writer in the course of many in-depth interviews conducted with teachers and officials of all school levels as well as with students and parents concerned. See also *Kurier Polski*, organ of Democratic Party SD (Warsaw), June 22, 1966, and *Trybuna Ludu*, organ of Central Committee of the United Polish Workers' Party (Warsaw) of same date.

[15] *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 41, para. 251, as cited in *Życie Warszawy*, December 30, 1966, p. 6.

[16] Article 13, Statute July 2, 1958, *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 45, 1958. "On Vocational Training, Apprenticeship for Specific Work and the Employment of Youthful Workers in Enterprises and On Work Initiation."

[17] *Polska Ludowa: Słownik encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1965), p. 356.

[18] Janina Borowska, "Miejsce w internacie," *Trybuna Ludu*, official organ of Central Committee of UnitedPolish Workers' Party (Warsaw), July 26, 1966, p. 4.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Krzysztof Przecławski (Polish Academy of Sciences), "Niektóre aspekty wychowawcze procesów urbanizacji," *Studia Socjologiczne*, quarterly, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw), No. 4, 1965, p. 46.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

[22] *Ibid*, p. 49.

[23] Czesław Miłosz, *Native Realm: A Search for Self-Definition*, trans. from the Polish by Catherine S. Leach (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1968), pp. 32-33.

[24] Konstanty Grzybowski, "Refleksje sceptyczne: Czy istnieje młodzież 'robotnicza i chłopska'?" *Życie Literackie* (Cracow), Vol. XV, No. 45 (719), November 7, 1965, p. 3.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Życie Warszawy*, July 15, 1966.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Trybuna Ludu (Warsaw), August 9, 1966.

[29] Grzybowski, op. cit.

[30] Miłosz, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

[31] Ministry of Higher Education, Informator dla kandydatów do szkół wyższych i średnich szkół zawodowych dla maturzystów na rok szkolny 1966/67 (Warsaw), 1966, p. 277.

[32] Jan Woskowski, Nauczyciele szkół podstawowych z wyższym wykształceniem w szkole i poza szkołą, Monographs and Studies for the Inter-Institutional Center for Research on Higher Education of the Ministry of Higher Education (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965), p. 12.

[33] Polityka (Warsaw), Vol. X, No. 45 (505), November 5, 1966, p. 2.

[34] Ministry of Higher Education, Informator..., p. 304.

[35] Ibid., p. 251.

[36] Ibid.

[37] See Karol Dziduszko, Uniwersyteckie kształcenie nauczycieli (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1963), p. 95. As indicated, teachers with higher education still constitute a small minority among all teachers working at the elementary school level.

[38] Ministerstwo Szkolnictwa Wyższego, Informator..., p. 19.

[39] Ibid., p. 32; see also, Polska Ludowa: Słownik Encyklopedyczny, pp. 474-475.

[40] Polska Ludowa: Słownik Encyklopedyczny, p. 351.

[41] Ibid., p. 386.

[42] Gazeta Pomorska, Organ of the Województwo Committee of the United Polish Workers' Party, PZPR (Grudziądz), May 23, 1966.

[43] Kurier Polski, Organ of the Democratic Movement -- Stronnictwo Demokratyczne (Warsaw), June 22, 1966.

[44] Życie Warszawy, July 20, 1966.

[45] See "Bez rodziców albo pies ogrodnika," Życie Warszawy, November 9, 1966 and letters to editor, "Pedagogika naprawdę specjalna," Ibid., December 2, 1966.

[46] Statute on the Employment of Graduates of Higher Institutions of Learning, published in Dziennik Ustaw, No. 8, para. 48, February 25, 1964.

[47] Maria Żytomirska and Zbigniew Radwan, *Praca dydaktyczna w Studium Nauczycielskim* (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1965), especially pp. 25, 75.

[48] Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, "Co myślą kończąc Studium Nauczycielskie?" (Warsaw: unpublished manuscript, 1967).

[49] See, for example, Dziduszko, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

[51] Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, *Światopogląd 1000 nauczycieli: Sprawozdanie z badań ankietowych* (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1961), pp. 219-220.

[52] Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, "Alergia nauczycielskiego zawodu," *Fakty i Myśli*, Organ of Executive Board of Association of Atheists and Freethinkers (Bydgoszcz), Vol. IX, No. 21 (193), November 1-15, 1966, p. 6.

[53] *Życie Warszawy*, May 27, 1966.

[54] As cited, Gusta Singer, *Teacher Education in a Communist State: Poland 1956-1961* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1965), p. 190.

[55] Personal interview, October 5, 1965.

[56] See Alex Inkeles and Peter H. Rossi, "National Comparisons of Occupational Prestige," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 61, 1956, pp. 329-339, reprinted in Seymour Martin Lipset and Neil J. Smelser, eds., *Sociology: The Progress of a Decade* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), pp. 506-516.

[57] *Ibid.* in Lipset and Smelser, p. 513.

[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 515-16.

[59] Korab, "Western," *Kultura* (Paris), No. 5/261, June, 1969, pp. 69-70.

[60] Janusz Rolicki, "Prestiż nauczyciela: Coraz lepsi," *Polityka* (Warsaw), Vol. X, No. 45 (505), November 5, 1966, p. 6.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[62] See, for example, Zbigniew Kwiatkowski's story "Jedna z wielu" (One of Many") in his *Byłem niemilczącym świadkiem* (Warsaw: Iskry, 1965), pp. 237-246.

[63] Rolicki, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Chapter III

[1] *Życie Warszawy*, July 20, 1966. Among the professions, doctors and engineers lead in divorce proceedings.

[2] (J. Śliw.), "Gentlemen in jeans," *Życie Warszawy*, October 10, 1966, p. 10.

[3] Leszek Wysznacki, "O godności," *Stolica* (Warsaw), Vol. XXIII, No. 18 (1065), May 5, 1968, p. 11.

[4] Czesław Miłosz, *Native Realm: A Search for Self-Definition*, Trans. from the Polish by Catherine S. Leach (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1968), pp. 31 ff.

[5] *Kultura* (Warsaw), May 28, 1966.

[6] *Życie Warszawy*, October 14, 1966, p. 8.

[7] Jan Szeląg, "Tak i nie," *Kultura* (Warsaw), Vol. III, No. 42 (123), October 17, 1965, p. 12.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] E. G., "Problemy i dyskusje: Czy stan normalny?" *Stolica* (Warsaw), Vol. XXIII, No. 20 (1067), May 19, 1968, p. 14.

[10] Zbigniew Kwiatkowski, *Byłem niemilczącym świadkiem* (Warsaw: Iskry, 1965), pp. 272-274.

[11] See Jan Szczepański, "Osobowość ludzka w procesie powstania społeczeństwa socjalistycznego," *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* (Warsaw), Vol. VIII, No. 4, 1964, pp. 3-25.

[12] As reported, Zygmunt Skórzynski, *Między pracą a wypoczyńkiem: Czas "zajęty" i czas "wolny" mieszkańców miast w świetle badań empirycznych* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich for the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Workshop for Research on Mass Culture, 1965), p. 72.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 80 ff.

[14] *Trybuna Wolności* (Cracow), December,23, 1956. Also, *Nowa Kultura*, Organ of Polish Writers' Union (Warsaw), December 23-30, 1956.

[15] See *Polska Ludowa: Słownik encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw) Wiedza Powszechna, 1965, pp. 433-435, and *Orędzie biskupów polskich do biskupów niemieckich: Materiały i dokumenty* (Warsaw: Polonia, 1966).

[16] Kwiatkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

[17] Miłosz, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

[20] See regular "Veritas" advertisements appearing in *Słowo Powszechne* (Warsaw), official press organ of the PAX Association.

[21] Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, *Niezbadane ścieżki wychowania* (Warsaw: Nasza Księgarnia, 1964), pp. 130-131.

[22] As cited, *ibid.*, p. 244.

[23] "Twórczość sprzymierzona z życiem" ("Creativity in Alliance with Life"), talk by Professor Bohdan Suchodolski, delivered at the Second Day of the Proceedings of the Congress of Polish Culture, October 8, 1966, as reported in *Życie Warszawy*, October 9-10, 1966, p. 3.

[24] Heliodor Muszyński, *Teoretyczne problemy wychowania moralnego* (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1965), pp. 54, 80.

[25] See Adam Schaff, *Marksizm a jednostka ludzka: Przyczynek do marksistowskiej filozofii człowieka* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965), pp. 45, 140. The "discovery" of the problem of the individual and individuality has emerged in East European Marxist literature with the discovery of the writings of the "young" Marx (of the period 1835-1847). See *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, Loyd D. Easton and Kurt H. Goddat, editors and translators (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1967). With few exceptions traditional Marxist literature was colored by the later and "major" works of Karl Marx. In addition to Adam Schaff other Marxist theorists in East Europe began to pay attention to the problem of the individual and individual alienation even within the socialist system -- notably, Gyorgy Lukaćs (Hungary), Marek Fritzhand and Leszek Kołakowski (Poland), Danilo Pejović and Predrag Vranicki (Yugoslavia), Ernst Bloch (East Germany) and others.

[26] Tadeusz M. Jaroszewski, "Dynamika praktyk religijnych i podstaw światopoglądowych w Polsce w świetle badań socjologicznych," *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* (Warsaw), quarterly, Vol. X, No. 1, January-March, 1966, p. 139.

[27] Kwiatkowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-282.

[28] Speech by Edward Gierek at *Województwo* Committee Planum of Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), Katowice, April 16, 1966, as reported in *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), April 17, 1966.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, *O światopoglądzie i wychowaniu* (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1965), pp. 28-29.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 157-162.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

[33] Henryk Grynberg, "Pochodzenie społeczne czyli łapa," a fragment from his *Życie ideologiczne* (*Ideological Life*) in *Kultura* (Paris), monthly, No. 4/259, April, 1969, p. 55.

[34] Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, "Kilka słów o środowisku nauczycielskim," *Wieś Współczesna* (Warsaw), No. 6, 1967, p. 81.

[35] Jan Szczepański, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

[36] Hanna Malewska, *Zachowania seksualne u ludzkiej samicy*, as reported by Agnieszka Romańska, "Intymna statystyka Polek: Raport Docent Malewskiej," *Kulisy* supplement of *Express Wieczorny* (Warsaw), December 24-31, 1967, p. 7.

[37] Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, "Co myślą studenci kończąc Studium Nauczycielskie: Z badań wśród studentów SN," unpublished monograph for internal use, cadre material, Research Series: Discussion Material (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Szkoły Świeckiej, 1968), pp. 39-45.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[39] Grzegorz Leopold Seidler, "Marxist Legal Thought in Poland," *Slavic Review*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, 1967, pp. 382-394.

[40] Speech by Andrzej Werblan at XII Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the United Polish Workers' Party (KC PZPR), reported in full in *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), July 11, 1968, p. 3. By "Luxemburgism" Werblan refers to Rosa Luxemburg, founder and leader of the Left-wing of the Polish Social Democratic Party (SDKPiL) in the part of Poland and Lithuania then under Czarist domination. Later Polish revolutionary parties of the Left, including the Communist Party, were upshots of the factional strifes within the SDKPiL which, eventually, led to its demise. Rosa Luxemburg, of Polish-Jewish origin, left for Germany to become one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement in that country. Together with Karl Liebknecht, another German revolutionary leader, she was arrested by the *Junkers* and assassinated while in prison in 1919. During her life she frequently differed on both ideology and tactics with Lenin -- nevertheless pre-War Communists in Poland commemorated her by celebrating the Day of the Three L's (i.e., Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht).

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] V. I. Lenin, "The Attitude of the Workers' Party Towards Religion" in V. I. Lenin, *Marx: Engels: Marxism*, 4th English language edition (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1951), pp. 273-286.

[43] Jerzy J. Wiatr, *Czy Zmierzch ery ideologii? Problemy polityki i ideologii w świecie współczesnym* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1966), p. 233.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

[45] *Polityka* (Warsaw), May 28, 1966.

Chapter IV

[1] Speech at Congress of Polish Culture, Great Theatre Hall, Warsaw, October 7, 1966, session. As reported, Życie Warszawy, October 8, 1966, p. 5.

[2] For the activities of Jewish teachers and the underground school systems in the Ghettos of Poland see, for example, Bernard Goldstein, The Stars Bear Witness, trans. and edited by Leonard Shatzkin (New York: The Viking Press, 1949); Władka - F. Peltel Międzyrzecki, Fun Beyde Zaytn Geto-Moyer/On Both Sides of the Ghetto Wall (New York: Workmen's Circle, 1948); Jacob Celemeński, Mitn Farshnitenen Folk/With My People in Its Nightmare of Destruction (New York: Unser Tsait, 1963).

[3] Zygmunt Mańkowski, "Lublin w tysiącleciu: Walka podziemna, 1939-1944," Kamena (Lublin), Vol. XXXIII, No. 12 (345), June 30, 1966, p. 6. Unfortunately little is still known of the organized and individual efforts of Polish educators during World War II.

[4] Głos Nauczycielski, organ of Polish Teachers' Union (Warsaw), June 26, 1966, p. 5.

[5] Bernard Tejkowski, "Społeczność małego miasteczka Pomorza Zachodniego," Studia Socjologiczne, Quarterly, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw), No. 4, 1965, pp. 103-117.

[6] Ibid., p. 110.

[7] Korab, "Western," Kultura, monthly (Paris), No. 5/261, June, 1969, pp. 72-73.

[8] Tadeusz Jackowski, "Miejsce młodej inteligencji: Pod milionowym dębem," Życie Warszawy, May 29-30, 1966, p. 3.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Zbigniew Kwiatkowski, Byłem niemilczącym świadkiem (Warsaw: Iskry, 1965), p. 242.

[11] Harmon Zeigler, The Political World of the High School Teacher (Eugene: The Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, 1966), pp. 136-37.

[12] J. Woskowski, "Losy studentów pedagogiki Uniwerzytetu Łódzkiego: Ich praca zawodowa, sytuacja materialna, zainteresowania," in Wykształcenie a pozycja społeczna inteligencji, Jan Szczepański, ed. (Łódź: 1960), p. 287.

[13] Ibid., p. 291.

[14] Głos Nauczycielsi, December 30, 1966, and Życie Warszawy, December 31, 1966 - January 2, 1967, p. 6.

[15] As cited, A. W. Wys, "Postulates Relative to the 5-Year Plan," Życie Warszawy, October 15, 1966, p. 5.

[16] See Aristotle, *The Politics*, Book III, for his discussion of the relationship between *types of constitutions* and types of good citizenship-good man qualifications.

[17] Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, "Kilka słów o środowisku nauczycielskim," *Wieś Współczesna*, No. 6, 1967, pp. 73-82.

[18] Korab, "Western," *Kultura* (Paris), monthly, No. 6/261. June, 1969, pp. 34-74.

[19] *Polska ludowa: Słownik encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1965), pp. 167-168.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 329-332. The *Sejm* is formally the highest constitutional authority of People's Poland. The pre-War Senate was liquidated much because it was, as defined under the revised pre-World War II constitution, a body to which only persons of position or education could be elected or could vote for. The pre-War Senate was thus associated with social and economic privilege while elections to the pre-war lower chamber (*Sejm*) were boycotted by the opposition parties after the revised Constitution of the Thirties abolished the system of party list voting. The present Polish parliament is thus unicameral and replaced the Land National Council (*Krajowa Rada Narodowa*) which existed between 1944-46. The first post-War *Sejm* of 1947 consisted of 114 members of the Polish Workers' Party (Communists), 116 of the Polish Socialist Party, 109 of the People's Party, 41 of two other peasant groups, 41 of the Democratic Alliance and 18 representatives of Catholic and Christian Democratic organizations. During the 1961-65 term the Polish United Workers' Party (merger of Communists and Socialists) held 256 seats, the United Peoples or Peasant groups had 117 deputies, the Democratic Alliance 39, and 21 seats were allotted to formally "non-party" groups, i.e., *Znak* (5), Christian (3), *Pax* (3), Union of Socialist Youth (5), Union of Rural Youth (6). The Catholic *Znak* representation was the most independent group in the 1961-65 *Sejm*.

[21] *Głos Nauczycielski*, weekly organ of the Teachers' Union (Warsaw), June 26, 1966, p. 2.

[22] Józef Szymański, *Rola Kierownika w doskonaleniu pracy szkoły podstawowej* (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1965), pp. 12-13.

[23] See table on average school inspection hours, *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[24] *Głos Nauczycielski*, June 26, 1966, p. 9.

[25] Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, *Niezbadane ścieżki wychowania* (Warsaw: Nasza Księgarnia, 1964), p. 191.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 198-203.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

[28] *Polska Ludowa: Słownik Encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1965), p. 100.

[29] *Głos Nauczycielski*, June 26, 1966, pp. 5-6.

[30] Zbigniew Kwiatkowski, "Czwartego dnia po święcie nauczyciela," *Życie Literackie*, weekly (Kraków), Vol. XV, No. 49 (723), December 5, 1965, pp. 5-6.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Korab, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[33] Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965), p. 422.

[34] Harmon Zeigler, *The Political World of the High School Teacher* (Eugene: The Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, 1966), p. 11.

[35] See Alex Inkeles, "The Modernization of Man" in *Modernization*, Myron Weiner, ed. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), pp. 138-150.

[36] *Kurier Polski*, official organ of Democratic Alliance (Warsaw), June 22, 1966.

[37] Józef Kozłowski, *Nauczyciel a zawód* (Warsaw: Nasza Księgarnia, 1966), p. 195.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

[40] Jan Woskowski, *O pozycji społecznej nauczyciela* (Łódź: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe on behalf of Center for Sociological Research, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, 1964), p. 144.

[41] Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, *Światopogląd 1,000 nauczycieli: Sprawozdanie z badań ankietowych* (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1961), p. 231.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[45] Czesław Miłosz, *Native Realm: A Search for Self-Definition*, trans. from the Polish by Catherine S. Leach (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1968), p. 85.

[46] See Anna Pawełczyńska, "Dynamika i funkcje postaw religii," *Studia Socjologiczno-Polityczne* (Warsaw), No. 19, 1961; W. Bieńkowski, "Z zagadnień socjologii religii," *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* (Warsaw), quarterly, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1963; Jerzy Wiatr, *Czy zmierzch ery ideologii: Problemy polityki i ideologii w świecie współczesnym* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1966).

[47] Bieńkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Wiatr, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

[48] Woskowski, *O pozycji społecznej nauczyciela*, p. 179.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] As cited, *ibid.*, p. 181.

[51] See, for example, Joseph R. Fiszman, "Occupational Group Values Vs. The System's Expectations: Teachers in East Europe and the United States," mimeographed unpublished paper delivered at the 63rd Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 7, 1967, pp. 43-45.

[52] Jan Szczepański, "Osobowość ludzka w procesie powstania społeczeństwa socjalistycznego," in *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, Quarterly (Warsaw), Vol. VIII, No. 4, 1964, pp. 3-25.

[53] Fiszman, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

[54] Jan Woskowski, *Nauczyciel szkół podstawowych z wyższym wykształceniem w szkole i poza szkołą*, Series Monographs and Studies (Warsaw: Ministry of Higher Education, Inter-Institute Center for Research on Higher Education, 1965), pp. 52-54.

[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 36-39.

[56] Józef Sosnowski, "Przestoje na trasie kultury," *Kultura*, sociocultural weekly (Warsaw), Vol. VII, No. 36 (326), September 7, 1969, p. 8.

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] Kozakiewicz, *Światopogląd 1000 nauczycieli*... p. 223.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

[60] Reference is here, of course, to C. P. Snow, *The Two Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959). See revised and expanded edition, *The Two Cultures: and A Second Look* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1965). Lord Snow refers in the "second look" to the Polish debate.

[61] Bohdan Suchodolski, "Democratization," *Polish Perspectives*, monthly (Warsaw), English-language edition, Vol. IX, No. 12, December, 1966, p. 53.

Chapter V

[1] Główny Urząd Statystyczny, *Rocznik Statystyczny Szkolnictwa 1944/45 - 1966/67* (Warsaw: GUS, 1967), pp. 19-20.

[2] Główny Urząd Statystyczny, *Rocznik Statystyczny: 1966* (Warsaw: GUS, Vol. XXVI, 1966), pp. 13, 28-29.

[3] Słowo Powszechne, organ of PAX (Warsaw), May 19, 1966.

[4] Stolica, weekly (Warsaw), Vol. XXII, No. 53 (1047), December 31, 1967, p. 10.

[5] Życie Warszawy, December 30, 1966, p. 8.

[6] Głos Nauczycielski, weekly, organ of the Polish Teachers' Union, ZNP, June 26, 1966, p. 9.

[7] A. Wiśniewski, "Próba ognia," Sztandar Młodych, daily, organ of Executive Committees of Union of Socialist Youth, ZMS, and the Union of Rural Youth, ZMW (Warsaw), April 20, 1966, p. 5.

[8] Czesław Niewadzi, "Sprawa postępu technicznego," Stolica, weekly (Warsaw), Vol. XXIII, No. 20 (1067), May 19, 1968, p. 3.

[9] Wiśniewski, op. cit., p. 5.

[10] Express Wieczorny, daily (Warsaw), June 20, 1966.

[11] Korab, "Western," Kultura, monthly (Paris), No. 5/261, June, 1969, pp. 36-37.

[12] Letter-to-the-Editor under title "Student Worries" ("Uczniowskie kłopoty"), Życie Warszawy, daily (Warsaw), October 10, 1966, p. 10.

[13] Irena Nowak, "Przemiany społeczno-kulturalne województwa warszawskiego," Kultura i Społeczeństwo, quarterly (Warsaw), Vol. X, No. 1, January-March, 1966, pp. 169-170.

[14] Editorial, Głos Nauczycielski, weekly organ of Polish Teachers' Union (Warsaw), June 26, 1966, pp. 1, 3.

[15] Sztandar Młodych, daily, joint organ of the Executive Committees of the Union of Socialist Youth -- ZMS and the Union of Rural Youth -- ZMW (Warsaw), April 20, 1966.

[16] As quoted, Andrzej Świecki, "'A oni nie chcą się uczyć': Kto ma przygotować do studiów?", Życie Warszawy, daily (Warsaw), September 5, 1969, p. 3.

[17] As cited, Świecki, op. cit., p. 3.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Barbara Iwa, "Matura z polskiego," letter-to-the-editor, Polityka, weekly (Warsaw), Vol. X, No. 31 (491), July, 1966, p. 1.

[20] Col. Janusz Przymanowski, "Ściśle jawne: Parę taktów taktyki," Życie Warszawy, November 13-14, 1966, p. 3.

[21] BAR, "Koniec roku," *Kamena*, weekly (Lublin), Vol. XXXIII, No. 12 (345), June 30, 1966, p. 10.

[22] Marian Jurek and Edward Skrzypkowski, *Konfrontacje: Tradycjonalizm a współczesność w wychowaniu wojskowym* (Warsaw: Ministry of National Defense publication, MON, 1965), pp. 63-64.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[24] Col. Janusz Przymanowski, *op. cit.*

[25] As cited, Marian Jurek and Edward Skrzypkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[26] *Express Wieczorny*, daily (Warsaw), June 20, 1966.

[27] Bogdan Gotowski, "Nauka i potrzeby kraju," *Życie Warszawy*, daily (Warsaw), September 26, 1966, p. 3.

[28] Relative to the surplus of philosophy teachers at the secondary school level, see letter-to-the-editor by Wit Drapich, Director of the Department of University and Economic Studies, in *Polityka*, weekly (Warsaw), Vol. X, No. 31 (491), July 30, 1966, p. 5.

[29] Wincenty Okoń, *Proces nauczania* (Warsaw: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych for the Institute of Pedagogy, 5th ed., 1965), pp. 105-106.

[30] Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, "Alergia nauczycielskiego zawodu," *Fakty i Myśli*, bi-weekly, organ of Executive Board of the Association of Freethinkers and Atheists (Bydgoszcz), Vol. IX, No. 21 (193), November 1-15, 1966, pp. 1, 6-7.

[31] Mikołaj Kozakiewicz, *Niezbadane ścieżki wychowania* (Warsaw: Nasza Księgarnia, 1964), pp. 263-265.

[32] See, M. Falski, *Aktualne zagadnienia ustrojowo-organizacyjne szkolnictwa polskiego* (Wrocław: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1957).

[33] Wincenty Okoń, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[34] As reported in *Polityka*, weekly (Warsaw), Vol. X, No. 45 (505), November 5, 1966, p. 1.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] *Ibid.*

Chapter VI

[1] Stefan Kozicki, "Polak umiera: Żywot człowieka poczciwego in niepoczciwego w PRL," *Kultura*, weekly (Warsaw), Vol. VII, No. 36 (326), September 7, 1969, p. 5.

[2] Konstanty Grzybowski, "Niezadowoleni z Polski," *Życie Literackie*, weekly (Cracow), Vol. XV, No. 49 (723), December 5, 1965, p. 11.

[3] See V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," in *The Revolutionary Phrase: "Left-Communist" Mistakes on the Brest Peace: Articles and Speeches* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965), especially p. 159.

[4] Antonina Kłosowska, *Kultura masowa: Krytyka i obrona.* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964), p. 51.

[5] V. I. Lenin, "The Task of the Youth Leagues," speech delivered at the Third All-Russian Congress of the Russian Young Communist League, October 2, 1920, in V. I. Lenin, *Marx: Engels: Marxism* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, fourth English language ed., 1951), p. 527.

[6] S. N. Eisenstadt, "Sociological Aspects of Political Development in Underdeveloped Countries," in *Sociology: The Progress of a Decade*, Seymour Martin Lipset and Neil J. Smelser, eds. (Englewood: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), p. 619.

[7] Konstanty Grzybowski, "Place in Society," *Polish Perspectives*, monthly, English language edition (Warsaw), Vol. IX, No. 12, December, 1966, pp. 45-46.

[8] *Polska Ludowa: Słownik encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1965), pp. 241-246.

[9] As reported, *Życie Warszawy*, October 10, 1966, p. 1.

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ABSTRACT The study analyzes the role of education and the teaching profession within the Polish political system and culture, presently undergoing a process of transition. In attempting to identify some of the factors which impinge upon or, conversely, foster the process of value socialization, especially as this process concerns the educational enterprise and the teachers as "socializers," it finds both the educational system and the teachers caught between often conflicting pulls of values an norms growing out of the traditional culture, on the one hand, and the goals and expectations of the system, on the other. It finds much of Polish education's socialization efforts to be counterproductive, the teachers not quite trained to meet systemic expectations, and the system itself to place--despite declarations to the contrary--lower allocation priorities on education than it does on ventures with immediate and visible payoff quality, however short-range the latter may be. Contrary to what was initially anticipated, teachers of older age are more amenable to systemic demands and values than younger teachers. In addition to older age, tenure in the profession tends to adjust the teacher to the system's expeciations. Generally, from the system's point of view, teachers of medium age, moderate (in prestige) educational background, committed to general education (rather than subject matter specialization), with tenure in the profession, of small town background and working class origin, are the most "ideal." Research is based on analysis of literature, observation in the field, interviews, questionnaire responses on items of religion, secularism, vocationalism, educational traditionalism, etc.

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